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No. 1916



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IMPROVEMENTS CITED IN ARMY'S ONE-MAN WEAPONS

East Berlin SPORT UND TECHNIK in German Vol 29 No 7, Jul 81(signed to press 4 Jun 81)pp 8-11

[Cover story by Ulrich Lange: "One-Man Weapons"]

[Text] In the past 3 decades there have been far-reaching changes in the military, so that it can be rightfully said that there has been a revolution in military science. Atomic weapons and rockets were introduced and also the effectiveness of conventional means of warfare has increased significantly. The system character of combat technology has become more and more pronounced—that means: the increasingly complex and at the same time more effective weapons systems, which can often be operated by collective groups of soldiers. One cannot help but think: does the individual soldier still play a role in this gigantic mass of weapons and weapons systems? Do his weapons, i.e. the machine pistol, the bazooka and machine gun still have a meaning on the battle field of modern war? Can he himself actually still accomplish something?

This thought is not easily dismissed, because many people, faced with a seemingly overpowering technology, think of themselves as being small and insignificant—a thought which can stifle initiative. The soldier is exposed to this more than any other. However, he must not hesitate even for a second on the battlefield, he cannot waver a moment. He must take the initiative, he must storm forward with his weapon, he must defeat the enemy—just as the Soviet soldiers did in World War II. That, he can do only if he knows: even today, it depends on him alone! He must know that his weapon is a highly modern, efficient weapon and that there are one-man weapons which enable him to destroy even powerful weapons systems of the enemy. And part of the knowledge of the high efficiency of his own weapon and its perfect mastery is the strong conviction that, above all, it depends on him, the motorized infantryman, whether or not the enemy will be defeated. The weapons of our NVA and of all allied armies are operated by such soldiers, who are courageous and trained to be able to stand their ground—who know why they do this, because they are loyal to socialism. They know that it depends on their ability to use complicated weapons systems as well as the simplest one-man weapons so quickly and surely that the enemy has no chance. To achieve this, however, it must be trained, continuously.

The Aerial Target in the Visor?

A paved depression in the sand of the practice area. A soldier, a motorized infantry soldier stands in it, his upper body extends over the concrete wall.

On the soldier's right shoulder rests the short tube of a one-man anti-aircraft rocket. Then the command resounds: "Aerial target." The soldier looks up, his eyes search the sky systematically. At the same time he plugs in the energy source of the rocket, a whistling sound is audible, the rocket is under voltage. Now a yellow-red glowing point races across the sky, it approaches. He adjusts the sights. Stay calm, stay calm, he tells himself, suppressing his excitement. I have to wait for the point of change, he thinks. So he waits two breaths for the moment when the approaching target becomes a departing target. A small green lamp flickers, indicating to the soldier that his rocket has registered the target. Now, check the gauge for speed allowance and pull trigger. It explodes, smoke envelops the concrete depression. But it disbursts quickly and the soldier sees how a glowing point pursues the small, yellow-red fireball, reaches it, hits. Then the soldier breathes deep and his tension lessens. It is done! He successfully engaged the aerial target with his one-man, anti-aircraft rocket.

The Pylon Is Also the Launching Ramp

This anti-aircraft rocket is a typical one-man weapon. It has been in service for a few years and, like most weapons systems of the socialist defense coalition, comes from the USSR. Its use demonstrates the role every individual warrior plays in modern combat. Among the weapons which can be operated and used by one soldier are, of course, also older as well as more modern systems, systems which complement each other or the fire power of heavy weapons. The perfect mastery of these weapons demands from the soldier dedication and effort during training, it requires strength and endurance, as well as a high degree of technical and tactical knowledge.

During parades of the Soviet Army, the NVA and other fraternal armies, the most varied anti-aircraft rocket systems of our Air Defense were shown. In addition, there are anti-aircraft canons, anti-aircraft machineguns and interceptors. All of them are reliable means for engaging aerial targets of any kind. But one must not forget that NATO—with its concept of aggression against socialist countries—keeps an entire arsenal of planes on hand which, for example, are supposed to fly under our radar zone at lowest altitudes. Then, they would like to destroy tanks, APC's, SFL's and other vehicles with special means: the so-called surface weapons. The MBB enterprise in the FRG developed bomb coffers MB-1 for the F-4 Phantom II and Tornado, which handles up to 4,000 bombs of small caliber in 224 tubes. The one-man anti-aircraft rocket is an effective means against such aircraft or against combat helicopters. It can be carried along on any terrain vehicle, APC, tank or truck; it is quickly combat ready and needs no additional support. The pylon is at the same time the launching ramp.

With the Rocket Over the Attack Road

Before the soldier adjusts the simulator rocket on the aerial target at the conclusion of his training, he crawls and slides with it on his arm umpteen times over the ground until he has covered the entire attack road. With the more than 30 kg heavy transport box for the rockets, two soldiers pant through terrain, also through ditches, and water. A person has to be in condition! In the classroom, the soldier thoroughly learns all parts of the rocket complex—launching tube, rocket with infrared target-seeking guided warhead, external power source, pyro-cartridge, and launching mechanism. On the training field, the future anti-aircraft rocket

soldiers assume readiness posture 1 again and again, they bring the rockets from marching position into combat position: turn up sights, (circular foresight and slitted backsight), remove the breech, front and back, cock the weapon. If it has not become second nature, perhaps it cannot work in a real situation, and the aerial target would go unhindered on its destructive path.

The training equipment with which the rocket soldier practices picking up and tracking targets as well as operating the device is called planetarium by the soldiers. Here, the trainer can make targets suddenly appear and disappear, he can decrease and increase their speed, he can also program "errors" into rockers in order to simulate realistic combat situations. For these practices, not only good reaction ability are necessary, but strength, endurance and skill as well. There, the hard field training pays, because the practice rocket weighs approximately 15 kg, nearly as much as the original rocket.

One Soldier Did It!

The role of the individual fighter in combat has been significantly heightened in contrast to the time when the warrior fought with sword or lance. The step from muzzle loader to breech-loader was a big advance in weapons technology. Then followed the conversion to magazine rifles, which had five rounds in a magazine, as a rule. This significantly heightened the role of the individual soldier, he could now engage about 10 aimed shots per minute. Equipped with such rifles and carbines, the armies went into World War I and, in large part, into World War II. In the form of the carbine K-44, as well as the sharpshooter weapon 91/30, the NVA still had these weapons in its reserve in its founding year. They were at the time completely standard weapons. Of course, in NVA training in 1956 there were also one-man weapons with a higher rate of fire and greater efficiency than the carbines. There were, among other things, the submachineguns which, along with the carbine as well as the long rifle in various calibers and models, were used by all armies during World War II. The MPi Kalashnikov came into the NVA in place of the Soviet MPi 41 by 1959. It also replaced at the same time the K44 as well as the partially introduced self-loading carbine S, which is now only seen in parade units.

Today the Kalashnikov represents the standard weapon in the armies of the socialist defense coalition. The technical designer, Col Dr Kalashnikov, has repeatedly improved the original model AK-47. So emerged the KM and KMS, and from those the IMG-K (almost the same parts as in the MPi, only with longer barrel, 10 more rounds per magazine, 2 legs) and the PK/PKS heavy machine gun (with 2 legs or heavy 3-legged mount, shoots rifle ammunition).

Still, in World War I, five soldiers were needed to operate a machine gun. At that time the demand of the military grew for the construction of a light machine gun that needed two men for its operation. Two men were also necessary for the operation. Two men were also necessary for the operation of the heavy machine gun Maxim, which the Red Army deployed in World War II and which the NVA had in the beginning. Today's PK heavy machine gun, on the other hand, has a carrying handle and can supply a 100 round magazine instead of the 250 round magazine. One soldier can do that!

Also another one-man weapon belongs to the equipment of a modern army: the marksman's rifle. Here, the self-loading rifle SWD of Dragunov replaced the 5-round long rifle

91/30 in the socialist armies. After the first loading only the trigger needs to be operated. This makes it possible for the marksman to effectively engage several targets that pop up one after another: he no longer needs to load after every shot and now has 10 rounds in the magazine.

One Man Alone Against Tanks

It is interesting to compare once the armament and equipment of an NVA infantry squad of 1956 with that of a motorized infantry squad of 1981. At that time, the infantry squad consisted for the most part of an NCO and 9 soldiers. It was equipped with two machine pistols 41, one DP light machinegun, six 44 carbines as well as an RPG-2 anti-tank rifle. Today the motorized infantry squad consists of a squadleader and 8 soldiers. It has an armed armored personnel vehicle or armored personnel carrier, which is enclosed on all sides and protects against means of mass destruction. The armament of the squad consists of three machine pistols, one RPG-7 anti-tank rifle, one K light machine gun as well as four machine pistols.. The RPG-7, whose performance surpasses that of the RPG-2--one of the weapons developed after 1945, which was part of the NVA's initial equipment--serves as armor-piercing weapon.

The anti-tank rifle was meant for use against tanks from distances of approximately 150 meters, i.e. at close range. Its correct use demands from the soldier precise knowledge of the weapon and a lot of courage and skill. That, of course, is also true of the other means of anti-tank warfare, which are still just as efficient today as they were in the Great Patriotic War: mines, concentrated charges, bottle fire bombs. The anti-tank hand grenade, which exists in varied form and application, is still part of this. The motorized infantry has guided antitank rockets for anti-tank defense at greater distances. They can be placed on armored vehicles, but can also be used as portable complex. The specification provides that three men operate it together, i.e. jointly handle a knapsack with the distributor, and two knapsacks with the guided anti-tank rockets. But the rocket is guided directly to its target by one soldier only. He alone is responsible for hitting or missing the target.

Meanwhile here, too, development continued. Used in the socialist armies for some time has been a guided anti-tank rocket complex in which one tube serves simultaneously as transport container and launching ramp. The target and guidance installation were joined with the launching device--operation was simplified that way.

In a few socialist armies, rifle grenade devices are also used for anti-tank defense. It concerns an additional barrel head for the Kalashnikov machine pistol, with whose help small armor-piercing grenades can be fired.

There are also still flamethrowers, an effective weapon against fixed positions and bunkers, in the armed forces. Also, one man alone operates it.

The automatic grenade launcher AGS-17 from the USSR ranks with the newest one-man weapons. In contrast to the conventional grenade launcher, it is layed out as a sustained firing weapon. It utilizes the energy of the powder gases, which are released with the shot, for automatic loading. Soviet military literature designates the AGS-17 as a recoilless loader for short and long fire kicks as well as for continuous fire, with which the weapon combines the properties of a machine gun and of a grenade launcher in itself.

Hit With the First Shot

Every one-man weapon is of as much value as the soldier who operates it. The modern anti-aircraft rocket is of little use if the soldier does not use it at the right moment and in such a way that it has the greatest effect. On the other hand, a hand grenade can decide an action, if the soldier who throws it knows of this decisive strength and therefore acts daringly. It is not modern technology alone which ensures the high combat readiness of our armies and that of the fraternal armies, but the soldiers who master it, take care of it and use every practice in order to fully exhaust their deployment possibility--soldiers who know that the high combat strength of our armies makes peace more secure. Therefore, in all branches and units of the NVA, the combat collectives have made it their mission to master their weapons, their combat technology, and their equipment better and better. Their goal: hit with the first shot!

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IMPROVEMENTS SOUGHT IN ARMY TECHNICAL TRAINING SYSTEM

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 3, 1981(signed to press 12 Mar 81) pp 118-120

['Education and Training' feature article by Lt Col Paulus: "Technical Training-- Purposefully and Effectively Organized. Preparation of Instructors"]

[Text] The introduction of new weapons complexes of complicated design and significantly greater combat effectiveness also establishes new scales for the organization and implementation of combat training, increases the responsibility of each army member for performing his combat mission. The satisfactory operation and the effectiveness of combat technique depend increasingly on reliable actions of the group under the leadership of commanders, gun commanders or squad leaders. A prerequisite for this is an accurate knowledge of the internal, functional relationships and the beneficial conduct of tactics. Every instructor should be guided by this principle, even in his preparations for the training.

Technical training exerts a direct influence on attitudes and actions of army members. It must make significant contributions toward assuring constant tactical readiness. The object of this and several subsequent reports is to supply knowledge to inexperienced instructors used for technical training in the area of armored vehicles, and to give notes and instructions for the instructor's own training. The offered experiences should not be adopted schematically, but should all be adapted to the prevailing problem area. (Figures 2 to 6 of this article are found on the annex).

It will not always be possible to prepare the NCOs, sergeant-cadets or officers intended for armor training, in instructional methods, drills or courses of instruction by technical officers of the armor service in all planned training measures. Both the needed time and the organizational-technical expense will not permit it. Thus in practice, the individual or collective study of the instructor is the most important preparatory action.

The best sequence for proceeding corresponds in principle to the actions of a commander after receiving a task. The cornerstones are:

- posing the problem for armor training
- specification of training objectives
- fixing the training content
- working out the organization and methodic sequence of training
- direct preparation for training (Figure 2).

Even in the preparation phase, the level of training is generally specified. Thus, thoroughness, knowledge and resoluteness are needed.

1. Posing the Problem

In most cases, the instructor receives the training subject from his superior in accord with the training program and duty plan. Thus the subject, training time, primary training goals and content and possibly, notes on organizational and methodological structure, are specified. The problem should contain: Training personnel (number), special training status, location of training and provided armored equipment, any required "secondary instructors" (number, qualification, potential use) and scheduling (outline, confirmation, controls).

2. Specification of Training Objectives

According to Klingberg, personality development in the unit is founded on secure, scientifically founded and drilled knowledge, basic capabilities and socialistic convictions, properties of character and modes of behavior [1].

This applies in full force to armored training. Thus, each instructor should try to formulate a definite training objective in the initial phase of his preparations. Among this is: Objectives for information (knowledge, insights), development of ability (capabilities, abilities), development of qualities of conscience (attitudes, convictions) and development of conduct of trainees (customs, modes of behavior).

It is certain that qualities of conscience and conduct do not develop to perfection in only 45 minutes, but they can be influenced in that time. In this regard, information is the basic element. Only by means of knowledge can convictions and modes of behavior be engrained. Conversely, certain attitudes lead to refinement of intellectual abilities or to better, more active inclination to learn.

For example, how can the object be formulated for the following problem?

Subject of training: Tactical principles and tac-tech information on the 60 PB APC.

Objective:

The training shall provide an overview of the tactical potentials of the 60 PB APC in the GDR Army. The most important tactical and technical information shall be given. The general structure shall be demonstrated by using one such vehicle in order that the main parts, assemblies and systems are impressed on the trainees.

Organizational-methodological notes:

The subject stands at the beginning of armor training on the 60 PB APC.

The training is conducted at the Technical Training Center.

There are three 60 PB APCs with driver/auxiliary trainer available to support the instructor.

The training time is 90 minutes. The following outline is important for precise goal formulations:

- ...give...overview
- ...give...details
- ...demonstrate...structure
- ...impress...main components
- ...is at the beginning
- ...performed at the TAZ
- ...three 60 PB APC with drivers/secondary trainers.

Under consideration of the thesis that the training goal is a clear formulation of the intellectual, written, anticipated, desired, feasible result of training and instruction in the specified training segment, we can formulate the following:

The trainees know the tactical potentials, important technical and tactical information and can relate the information. They are able to name the main components of the 60 PB APC, its assemblies and systems and to point them out on the vehicle. The trainees know the significance of the APC as a primary fire weapon and combat vehicle of the motorized infantry squad. An interest develops in them for the technical design and use of the APC. They act in a disciplined manner and in accord with the instructions of the instructor. The trainees learn the first, most important safety regulations for handling this armored vehicle and they follow these regulations strictly.

It is visible that this training objective goes beyond the bounds of the problem description in its specifications on development of attitudes and conduct. But just this aspect of the training process is often inadequately planned in practice, thus it is conducted sporadically and inadequately. But for personality development, it is of equal importance as giving knowledge or abilities. Since consciousness qualities are internalized standards which determine the entire conduct and actions of man, they must be planned in each training segment and developed. One thus hears of so-called goals going beyond the subject or technical area.

3. Fixing the Training Content

By this, we mean everything that the trainee is to assimilate in the training process. The training content is a complex of pictures of objective reality. But in training, the content is also a needed information basis for the assimilation process. In this case, the training content forms the "training materials."

Parts of the training material are:

- facts, concepts
- laws, relations, theories, hypotheses, rules
- methods, techniques, algorithms
- principles, standards, illustrations [2].

The training material is the object of assimilation and forms the primary means for personality development in training. Like the overall training content, it is determined by the goal. Also belonging to the training content are: Motives,

goal-orientations, secondary goals which are given by the instructor for a useful organization of training; organizational and methodological instructions, guidelines and procedures for structuring the training into which the trainee is actively included, and preparation of estimations and evaluations both by the instructor and by members of the group etc.

In this regard, the training content represents the most important means of educating the trainee.

Proceeding from the training objective, the training content should be organized accordingly. The minor subjects or training questions should be fixed, and these can then be answered in detail by the training material. This organization must be simple, specific and in proper order. It should reflect the significant aspects of the training subject. The following organization could be used for the subject mentioned above:

- 0. Motivation of the training subject
- 1. Combat effectiveness of the 60 PB APC
 - 1.1 Tactical principles
 - 1.2 Tactical and technical information
- 2. Important safety precautions when handling the 60 PB APC
- 3. Design of the 60 PB APC
 - 3.1 Main Parts
 - 3.2 Assemblies and systems

Now the other elements of the Contents can be inserted until the entire training material is present. The instructor must compare the content with the training objective in order to close gaps or put items in proper order. At the same time, initial thoughts on organization and methodology of the training should be formulated. Additional items can be discovered by this method.

The training material for armor training is mainly contained in Duty Regulations and Instructions, or in the form of real equipment or mock-ups. In addition, each instructor should be familiar with other literature to have detailed or supplemental information. Included here are lexicons on definitions of concepts, including technical books and publications.

One possible way to work out the content of training question 1, the combat effectiveness of the 60 PB APC, is shown in figures 3 and 6. But they do not represent a complete Contents and are only examples for one possible manner for proceeding while showing the arrangement of training material. Consequently, the concepts, facts, relations etc. specified in regulations and corresponding to the training goal, should be made visible and prepared for the training.

4. Organization and Sequence of Training

These are determined basically by the goal and content. The training goal specifies what is to be achieved, which personality properties are to be developed. The content specifies the object of training. The organization and methodology should specify under which external conditions and in which type and manner the training content is to be given and assimilated. Naturally there are reactions on goal formulation and content specification arising from the organization and methodology.

The methodological structure relates to the activity of the instructor and to that of the trainees (Figure 2). In [3] there is a detailed description of how to proceed in training preparations.

At our officer candidate schools, besides the organizational forms presented here, "Instructive-Methodological Training" (called ImA below) has proven very useful in armor training. With this method, the officer candidates receive maximum inclusion in the process of preparation and implementation of armor training and become able to act as trainers (station directors) in the subsequent, practical training. The officer candidates solve real, timed-study tasks; they repeat, reinforce and expand their knowledge and ability, become accustomed to their responsibility for themselves and the group, learn cooperation with tank or APC drivers/NCOs etc.

Preparation of ImA begins in the planning and organization stage by the instructor. The training objective, the content and sequence of subsequent practical training, e.g. a drill, must be viewed constantly. An example is presented below for the organization of ImA for a drill on: "The chassis of the medium tank."

Training objective (abbreviated form):

The officer candidate must:

- possess knowledge on the design and operating principles
- be able to estimate the technical condition
- master algorithms for changing tracks
- be able to perform assembly and disassembly
- be able to act as instructors in armor training
- be able to work in the group on tank mechanics
- maintain security and order
- be able to check and regenerate tactical readiness.

Training time:	ImA	90 minutes
	Drill	3 x 90 minutes
Technology:	ImA	four T 55 A
	Drill	six T 55 A

Our objective is to include each officer candidate through a real task for the drill. Thus, we select a special organization of a platoon strength of 25 officer candidates.

The following number of officer candidates is assigned to the six training questions:

Inspection and preparation of training areas -- 6
Disassembly of drive wheel and one road wheel -- 3
Disassembly of idler wheel and track tensioner -- 3
Assembly of road wheel and track tensioner -- 3
Assembly of drive wheel and road wheel -- 3
Inspection of status of track suspension and parking the tank -- 6
Drill director -- 1.

The "drill director" receives special instructions from the trainer.

His tasks are:

- teaching the safety regulations, including working safety and fire prevention
- assignment of crews (training groups) to the drill
- preparation and implementation of a time plan for the drill
- check the safety, order and quality of work on the tanks
- organization of a competition between the crews.

At the beginning of training, only self-confident, capable and critical officer candidates are assigned this function in order that they act as an example for others.

In the IMA, preparation of the station director is on four tanks by using four trained and prepared instructors (preferably experienced tank drivers) who demonstrate the training questions to the officer candidates in the 90 minutes allowed.

Eight to fourteen days before the IMA, the officer candidates receive their assignments. They then prepare themselves through a study of the literature and by working out a rough outline for the IMA.

During the IMA, the instructors check and expand the knowledge of the candidates. The required abilities are drilled. Finally, the rough outline can be supplemented to become a complete training document.

The training questions are assigned to the four tanks as follows: Question 1; questions 2 and 4; questions 3 and 5; question 6.

As a rule, the IMA is performed 10 to 12 days before the "drill". The time in between is used for rewriting the hand copy, for checking it, for approval and evaluation by the technical instructor for armor training.

The platoon is broken down into six crews for the drill. For example, the first three crews may be assigned to officer candidates with questions 2 and 5, and the other crews to candidates with questions 3 and 4.

In crew A, the following tasks are performed by the four officer candidates:

- inspection
- disassembly of idler wheel and track tensioner
- assembly of drive wheel and one road wheel
- inspection of track suspension system.

At the half-way point of the drill, crews A, B and C give their dismounted components to crews D, E, F and vice-versa. This process continues on down the line.

This exchange is useful for the following reasons:

In a relatively short time (about 100 minutes), the idler wheels and track tensioners of three tanks, and the drive wheels with one road wheel each on the other three tanks, are disassembled (see training objective).

After the exchange, the candidates must repeat the sequence of actions for the new crew. They point out important items and refer to difficulties which they have had.

All dismounted parts shall be cleaned and placed aside in an orderly manner for the exchange (instructions in "order").

The crews bear full responsibility for the quality of work in the specified time; they must work in a planned and rational manner.

During the drill, the officer candidates/station director assigned to the tank are responsible for activities. The tank drivers help, advise, assure safety and evaluate both the activities of the station director as well as crew members according to the criteria specified by the driving instructor in accord with the training objective. This can be, for example: Adherence to safety regulations, technical accuracy of actions, military appearance of the station director, cooperation of crew members, order at the training area, discipline of the crew etc. The tank drivers receive evaluation cards for each crew.

In order to further enhance the educational effect of these drills, the officer candidates are assigned new study tasks before beginning the drill. These tasks arise from their training question and are to be solved in cooperation with the practical work and turned in the day after the drill. These tasks can be: Suggest a blow-up illustration of the chain tensioner, outline a blow-up (exploded view) of the attachment of the road wheel or the idler wheel bearing.

The primary objective of these tasks shall be to force the candidates into attentive observations when handling the tank. Like the hand copies, the evaluation cards and the estimates of the directing officer candidate, this work also forms a basis for evaluating the officer candidate for the drill "Chassis of the medium tank."

5. The Methodical Structure of the Logical Method

By "logical method" we mean the precise, well-founded, scientific thought process of the instructor and trainee. In armor training, primarily analysis and synthesis are applied. An example for this is the working out of main parts, components, systems, components and individual parts, the analysis of the armored vehicle by word and picture, and the subsequent thought synthesis in the consciousness of the trainee. This leads to knowledge or, in its highest form, to mastery of the design. It can be derived from tables and is also demonstrated in our descriptions of types of armored vehicles as chapter headings.

Application of the deductive method is more difficult, i.e. proceeding from the general to derive the specific. We use this method successfully in tank training, e.g. in the area of "Cooling and preheating system." For the officer candidate it is often complicated to recognize and remember the route of the often confusing cooling and preheating system of individual armored vehicles, e.g. the SFL 23/4 AA system. Even for the trainers, this is a methodic problem in spite of polylux pictures and roll-tables.

Deduction can help as follows: A general physical law states that liquids lose density when heated and expand. On cooling, the reverse occurs, and the volume decreases. In the cooling or preheating cycle, this process is supported by the particular coolant pumps. Consequently, stated simply: On cooling, the coolant is pumped from bottom to top through the cavities of the cylinder block into the

cylinder head where it is heated and flows as hot coolant from the top position of the engine out over the other components, through the lines and back to the coolant pump. It thus cools off again (especially in the water cooler or radiator), i.e. it gives off heat to the environment.

Now it is simple and reasonable to find all other coolant streams by taking the outlet point of coolant out of the cylinder head as starting point.

The preheating cycle can be handled in the same manner. This process can be supported by using a block diagram. Thus, by a simple display, the important items can be worked out. The officer candidates obtain simple, but useful relationships which are easily remembered.

6. Conclusion

The training level is determined by the preparation of the instructors. This preparation includes a clear objective, real, detailed contents and a planned organizational and procedural configuration which depend on the objective and training content. As a result of the preparation, the training document is produced. In order to have the most accurate information, the organization shown in Figure 4 is recommended.

Here, the different training points are just as important as the attendant action of the instructor, the trainee or the needed material means. Only when all data together forms a closed unit, can we speak of a didactic and methodically prepared training document.

FOOTNOTES

1. Klingberg, L.: Introduction to General Didactics. Reading. Berlin 1974 p. 109.
2. Ebenda, p. 118.
3. A 055/1/001. Didactics of Combat Training.

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CSO: 2300/264

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

JUNE 1981 ISSUE OF SED THEORETICAL JOURNAL REVIEWED

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18 Jun 81 p 4

[Martin Quill review of East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 6, June 1981, signed to press 13 May 1981, pp 513-624: "Performance Increase of a New Dimension." Translations and/or summaries of articles by authors cited below, as well as by others, are published in pages following this review]

[Text] With the implementation of the decisions of the 10th SED Congress we have entered a new phase of our work to which the highest political standards apply. It is ever more obvious that solving economic problems is the central issue of the great class confrontation, of the struggle to further strengthen socialism, for the welfare of the people and for a secure peace. In this respect the GDR, as a cornerstone of peace and socialism in Central Europe, bears a particularly high responsibility. This is stated by Guenter Mittag in his article, "Combines in the Struggle for the Implementation of the Economic Strategy of the 10th Party Congress."

Explaining why the decision to continue the policy of the main task is of such great historic significance for our continued development, the author points out: "We have the strength and the potential, the opportunities and above all the militant determination to continue our very successful course of increasing our performance for the benefit of the people and for strengthening peace." Turning to the ten key points of our party's economic policy, Guenter Mittag declares that they outline a clear strategic concept that is in line with the standards of the 1980's and constitute the foundation of further work.

New work achievements that go far beyond the former targets are the convincing reply to the 10th Party Congress and a matter of honor for all trade union members, says Horst Heintze, a Presidium member and National Executive Committee secretary in the Free German Trade Union Federation (FDGB), in another article. The FDGB, he declares, is making an all-out effort to implement the strategic concept of the national economy's future development.

The most important task of political-ideological work is to familiarize all citizens of our country with the wealth of ideas broached at the party congress and thus trigger new initiatives to comprehensively strengthen the GDR, writes Klaus Gaebler, chief of the SED Central Committee's propaganda department. He emphasizes: "The unity of party and people in thought, intent and action guarantees our future successes."

CSO: 2300/283

NATIONAL FRONT'S STRUCTURE, SOCIOPOLITICAL ROLE EXPLAINED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 6, Jun 81 signed to press 13 May 81
pp 525-530

[Article by Werner Kirchhoff, historian, candidate member, SED Central Committee; vice president, National Council, GDR National Front: "Affirmation and Action of All Citizens for Socialism and Peace"]

[Text] The constructive cooperation of parties and mass organizations has borne rich fruit, as was impressively confirmed at the 10th party congress. Under the leadership by the workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party, the GDR people accepts the challenge of the 1980's with new initiatives for a great performance increase and with concrete actions for socialism and peace. Through its own work the GDR National Front helps turn the people's elections of 14 June 1981 into a convincing affirmation of our socialist fatherland and of the course and goal charted by the SED for future advances.

All our successes and accomplishments, as Comrade Erich Honecker emphasized in his central committee report to the 10th SED Congress, are the common effort of the workers class that leads our socialist society, of the class of the cooperative farmers, the socialist intelligentsia and the other working strata, which have formed a great alliance. "The formation and development of this alliance counts among the most important historic achievements of the SED. In this regard too we follow the universally valid laws of the socialist revolution in conformity with the concrete historic conditions in our country."¹

In the GDR the political truth has been emphatically confirmed that the workers class can successfully fulfill its historic mission only under the leadership of a purposive, cohesive and militant Marxist-Leninist party closely affiliated with the masses. With the unification of the KPD and the SPD 35 years ago and the liberation of all society from exploitation and suppression, the cornerstone also was laid for this alliance policy which is reflected in the close cooperation of the parties and mass organizations in the democratic bloc and in the National Front. The continuity and vitality of this alliance have proven themselves again in the successful implementation of the ninth party congress decisions. Independent contributions to the implementation of the main task in its unity of economic and social policy, stemming from the constructive cooperation among the parties and

mass organizations, have borne rich fruit for all of society. And it conforms to the spirit of confident association that the important commitments and achievements by the members of the friendly parties and National Front committees received high tribute and recognition at the 10th party congress. Their activities through economic mass initiative and in the political-ideological and the intellectual-cultural fields, after all, attest to a high civic sense of responsibility and close bonds with our socialist fatherland.

Every citizen has ample opportunities to take an active part in the shaping of the developed socialist society. Through confident association, with dedication and energy, party members and nonparty citizens, members of mass organizations, workers and cooperative farmers, employees, scientists and artists, craftsmen and tradesmen, men and women, youths and senior citizens, and people of diverse world-outlooks and religious faiths are working on the development of a society that is committed to the welfare of the people and to socialism and peace.

Approving the Course and the Goal

Proceeding from the concrete-historic conditions for the development of our country, and relying on the positive balance-sheet for what has been accomplished, the 10th party congress has staked out accurately the concrete requirements for our continued successful advances in the 1980's. From the new dimensions and higher demands placed on the management and planning of this complex, multilayered and highly interwoven social organism and from the altered external conditions, the task arises for all citizens to make conscious and initiative-rich contributions to our coping with our complicated requirements in all domains of public life. The intent and optimism of the party members and of millions of working people who do not belong to the SED to accept the challenge of the 1980's through new initiatives and ensure a great performance increase became evident at the 10th party congress.

At the session of the National Council of the GDR National Front on 27 April 1981, the representatives of the parties and mass organizations expressed their complete unanimity with the goals of the working class party concerning the further shaping of the developed socialist society, as presented in the SED Central Committee status report. On behalf of their members they stated that the domestic and foreign policy decided on at the 10th party congress deeply conformed with the interests of all social forces of our people. From that they derived the obligation to help through their work turn this year's 14 June elections into a convincing affirmation of our socialist fatherland and of its continued all-round strengthening, wholly in the terms of the ambitious objectives of the 10th party congress.

What has been created in more than three decades, especially during the 1970's, in the GDR irrefutably proves: only the political power of the workers class and its allies guarantees the freedom of the people, living conditions for all citizens in human dignity, and the freedom of personality. Its further consolidation therefore is an overall social concern and a precondition for further successful advances. Our workers and farmers state truly is a people's power of deeply democratic character. The further development and perfection of socialist democracy is the main trend along which our state power will continue to develop.

Citizens participating in public organizations (1980)

340,000 citizens, including 103,000 women and 40,000 youths, are members of 17,500 National Front committees

51,769 citizens work as elected lay judges in kreis and bezirk courts

54,290 citizens were elected to work on 5,237 arbitration commissions in communities, residential urban areas and production cooperatives

229,829 elected working people on the 26,085 conflicts commissions in the enterprises take part in ensuring socialist legality

233,168 working people are members of commissions, boards and committees of the Workers and Farmers Inspectorate

102,930 mothers and fathers in 5,818 parents' advisory councils and 555,683 mothers and fathers in 105,537 parents' activist groups support the educational work and teaching activity and study at the general education schools

130,556 volunteer functionaries are working on 15,092 sales outlet commissions of the consumer cooperatives

In this it is the task of the National Front committees actively to help make the ties between the deputies, the tried and tested representatives of the people, with their voters still more intensive and vital, so that thereby the magnificent balance-sheet the 10th party congress was able to draw up gets still more effective and clear as the result of labor liberated from exploitation, as the result of what socialism can do. Through the status reports submitted currently by the deputies and the various forms by which candidates are introduced and thoroughly tested in the work collectives, important prerequisites are provided for further deepening the citizens' trust in their socialist state. This also deserves the greatest attention for the reason that the implementation of the social strategy decided on by the 10th party congress calls for a still broader involvement of all citizens in the management of social processes. That also implies a higher level of close cooperation between the National Front committees and the people's representations and councils, enterprises, cooperatives and institutions. Ideas, suggestions and the participation of ever broader circles of the population, after all, are required for the systematic improvement of working and living conditions, the measures of territorial rationalization, the efficient and economical use of all material and financial resources, the abiding by municipal and communal regulations, the beautification of residential areas, and the development of culture and sports.

Our socialist conditions provide the prerequisites by which all strata of the people can ever more effectively take part in solving overall social tasks. Led by its revolutionary party, the working class represents the basic interests of all working people. This precisely makes it possible to move ahead through the unified strength of all classes and strata. The identity of the vital interests of all the forces of the people acts as an important impulse for the citizens' commitment to the continued shaping of the developed socialist society in our country. Millions of working people are politically active on a volunteer basis and, in conformity with the proven principle in our Constitution, bear special responsibility for the whole.

Affirming the Main Task Policy

The unanimous SED 10th congress decision unflinchingly to carry on the main task course, the unity of economic and social policy, to ensure and gradually extend the people's material and cultural standard of living, has met with a broad and positive response in all social classes and strata. That the effort had already started of fulfilling that decision by high performance improvements could be glimpsed from letters from industrial and agricultural enterprises, science institutions and schools, the armed forces and security organs, and all other domains of public life, to the 10th party congress.

Still during the party congress, many National Front commissions and housing communities likewise addressed affirmative statements and new commitments to its Presidium. That reveals not only the deep confidence in the policy of the vanguard of the workers class and all the working people but also the great willingness to take an active part in the further progress of our society. The present election debate includes meetings with work collectives in the enterprises, cooperatives and institutions, in residential areas and houses, and with members of the intelligentsia, women, youths, craftsmen, tradesmen, veterans of labor, and representatives of Christian circles. Meetings between deputies and candidates and their voters demonstrate that a thorough familiarization with the ten key points in the economic strategy for the 1980's is an important starting point for mobilizing for high achievements in the economy and in other public domains.

The extension of the broadest people's initiative in the history of our country in the residential areas follows the example of the continuing socialist competition in conformity with the new criteria by the working people in many enterprises. The 10th party congress directive on the five-year plan for the development of the GDR economy, 1981-1985, offers many opportunities and concrete handles for the economic mass initiative of the National Front. Especially a broad public debate also will bring up new ideas and suggestions on how the traditional "Join-In!" competition in conformity with local economic plans can still more effectively help improve the working and living conditions in the residential areas. It has been found suitable in this regard to explain projects politically, economically and socially in the competition programs. Often has the social value of the results achieved, and to be achieved, through the "Join-In!" competition become especially clear in regular family conversations with the citizens.

The focus is placed on supporting the housing construction program as the centerpiece of our social policy. The unity of new construction, modernization and maintenance of buildings is becoming ever more important for solving the housing problem. From the fact that the proportion of construction measures for reconstruction and modernization has nearly doubled compared with 1980 and repair work for buildings is meant to be increased by circa 125 percent, the inference may be drawn that we should also considerably boost what the population can do on its own in maintaining apartments and taking care of small and minute repairs. To promote civic initiative, state organs, housing industry enterprises and other VEB's have further expanded their "Join-In!" centers or furnished them better or even set up new ones. Our republic at present maintains circa 3,000 repair workshops, a solid material base for the citizens' increasing participation in the economic mass initiative.

We must also still more effectively support the completion of appropriate communal facilities in the residential areas within the scope of our comprehensive housing construction program. Equal attention has to be given to assisting in the reconstruction and renovation of schools, kindergartens, nursery schools, hospitals, leisure-time centers, youth club facilities and sports arenas.

Craftsmen and tradesmen are making an essential contribution to that. Through their great dedication, cooperative and private craftsmen, innkeepers and tradesmen have managed to improve further, in scope and quality, the supply, service and repair operations for the population. That has been due, not last, also to the National Front committees and their working teams of craftsmen and tradesmen where many members of these strata do dedicated and effective political work. They take it for a fact that their own fine example is of great importance for boosting their colleagues' activities. Last year, for instance, they performed, above and beyond the national economic plan, repair, service and supply activities at a value of more than M 79 million, building repairs in apartment buildings and public facilities for almost M 34 million, and services through the "Join-In!" competition of nearly M 12.5 million. For 1981 they have assumed still higher extra accomplishments. At the same time they intend to improve the quality of their work, reduce material and energy expenditures, shorten waiting periods, and contribute to the development of rapid repair services. That is why the 86,500 craft enterprises have given a broad and affirmative response to the announcement in the central committee report to the 10th party congress that they should come forth with suggestions for getting better supplies in tools, means of rationalization and materials. Worthwhile perspectives become apparent here as does the growing responsibility for supplying the population with many different daily supply commodities and services.

Active encouragement also is warranted for the initiatives by the members of the Union of Small Gardeners, Settlers, and Small Livestock Raisers and other small producers who from their gardens and family farms provide the population with extra supplies in crop and animal products such as fruit, vegetables, rabbit and goose meat, honey and eggs. In 1980 alone, the members of that union sold to the state commerce, among other things, 162,106 tons of fruit, 114,192 tons of vegetables, 15,212 tons of rabbit and goose meat, and 1.8 billion eggs.

The work of the rural National Front committees embraces their support of socialist agriculture, such as their assistance in the reconstruction of old stables, the beautification of villages and help in the modernization and new construction of apartments, so that the planned increase of 10,000 rural apartments annually is accomplished. Greatly important is promoting the population's own initiative so that in the next 5 years the households of another 400,000 citizens get access to the central drinking water network.

Also toward meeting the raw material requirements of the economy the National Front committees are going to make a growing contribution, together with the state organs and the competent enterprises, by improving the collection, and deliveries to residential areas, of secondary raw materials. All these examples demonstrate that the socialist people's movement will make important contributions to implementing our economic tasks between 1981 and 1985 as best it can.

The sociopolitical component of our main task, as one knows, embraces our material and cultural living conditions. These are two aspects of one and the same thing, belong together, indeed condition one another. Therefore the development of a vivid intellectual-cultural life, the promotion of physical culture and sports, the improvement of recreational opportunities and meaningful leisure-time activity, especially for youth, are among the priority tasks of the National Front committees and have to be carried out in concert with the Culture League and other cultural organizations. Here efforts have to be strengthened still because in the intellectual-cultural sphere needs also are rising fast. Reflecting the grown interest in socialist communal relations, circa 8,800 house clubs and other communal facilities have been organized, mostly on the citizens' own initiative and primarily in new settlements, which constitute a noteworthy expansion for a diversified intellectual-cultural life. In this sense the "Join-In!" competition is also oriented to setting up more small sports arenas in the residential areas. Furthermore the National Front is behind all efforts to make a more imaginative and effective use of the material base of culture and sports available and to utilize all suitable facilities in the residential areas, regardless of their accountability obligations, for the search for health, joy of living, education, recreation, accomplishments and well-being. This shapes further socialist morality and the socialist way of life.

The SED has always paid great attention to the development of the National Front as a socialist popular movement. Starting from the National Council of the GDR National Front, which has 285 members, down to the local and residential area committees the composition of the National Front organizations genuinely mirrors the political and social structure of our population on all levels. Recently we have managed to recruit another 7,000 citizens for joining the organizations of this socialist popular movement. Of the 340,000 citizens from all population strata who are active today, 43.9 percent are SED members, 20.4 percent members of friendly parties, and 35.7 percent nonparty. If all other forms and organizations engaged in social activities, in the enterprises, cooperatives and residential areas, are added to that, it can be said that one out of every four citizens in our country is somehow working for the common good on a volunteer basis.

More than two thirds of all houses have housing community managements. Thousands were set up while the 10th SED Congress was in preparation. In the many new settlements further National Front committees and housing communities are evolving constantly. The development and formation of the social forces go hand in hand with the dynamic overall development of our country. The National Front is a living organism, a perceptible factor in everyday life. Every town and community needs capable National Front committees for the good of their citizens, and each initiative of a residential area is of benefit to all society.

Peace--The Highest Good

Our policy for the well-being, freedom and dignity of man is a policy of peace in the deepest sense. Safeguarding it is and remains the most important for meeting our tasks. Due to this understanding, which for the older generation is reinforced by its own experiences, the citizens of all classes and strata support the 10th SED Congress declaration to the effect that we fully and completely support the peace proposals of the 26th CPSU Congress, which meet the interests of all peoples. The

tested fighting alliance with the Soviet Union and with all countries in the socialist community always has proven the guarantee for our peaceful advances. Our people welcomes the fact that the GDR continues to pursue a clear peace concept while also doing everything necessary for the military defense of our socialist fatherland.

The significant 10th party congress decisions on the further implementation of its policy for the good of the people and on the GDR's contribution to the safeguarding of peace also have received great attention and support among church dignitaries and in Christian circles. After all, that is a course that coincides with the highest maxim of Christian responsibility for peace and the happiness of man. They have in particular backed the statement in the central committee report that the proven policy on developing objective, constitutionally guaranteed and sympathetic relations between the socialist state and the churches is being continued, based on the principle of the separation between state and church. Church circles rate the confident talks between representatives of the state and of the church as an opportunity for and expression of their greater degree of affiliation. So the National Front committees and their Christian circles working teams find more favorable conditions for attracting ecclesiastic dignitaries to pursuing our humanistic goals too and to a greater commitment to the preservation of peace.

In political discussions of the election appeal from the National Front citizens have time and time again expressed the realization that their everyday efforts on behalf of socialism also amount to their actions on behalf of peace. The joint struggle for the all-round strengthening of the GDR and of peace, the firm trust in the domestic and foreign policy of the party and government leadership, the justified pride in the great accomplishments of socialism and the determination to defend them express our people's political-moral stability and at the same time act as strong impulses for deepening it further. We have all that is required to achieve a higher degree of overall social activity and to involve all the forces of our people still more effectively in the revolutionary process of political, economic, social and intellectual-cultural development. The elections for the People's Chamber, for the city-kreis assembly of our capital Berlin, and for the bezirk assemblies on 14 June will make an important contribution to it, once more demonstrate the unity and cohesiveness of our people and document our unanimous confidence in the National Front candidates. We shall do our best in every domain of our public life in following the slogan "High Performance Growth Through Increasing Labor Productivity, Efficiency and Quality--Everything for the Good of the People and for Peace!"

FOOTNOTE

1. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, pp 122-123.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

CAPITALIST, SOCIALIST CONCEPTS OF INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM CONTRASTED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 83, 5 Jun 81 p 2

[Report from Berlin: "SED Criticizes 'Alternatives.'" A translation of the East Berlin EINHEIT article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] In its most recent edition the theoretical SED journal EINHEIT (No 6, 1981) has criticized the "alternatives" in the West because they often sought to dodge the "anti-imperialist struggle." The "worst results of the imperialist application of the modern productive forces" were generally being blamed on science and technology, and "industrialism" and "corporate technology," in fact economic growth as such, were being held up as the root of all evil. At the same time, "alternative modes of life" were being propagated that supposedly would ensure the individual development and self-realization of man independent of the development of the modern productive forces or even in blind enmity to scientific-technical progress by means of an "escape into a petty bourgeois individualistic sphere of life." That was "reactionary utopianism" which would in fact weaken the "anti-imperialist movement" and subject working man still more to economic recklessness.

GDR Academician's Discussion

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 6, Jun 81 signed to press 13 May 81 pp 378-383

[Article by Prof Dr Wolfgang Eichhorn I, member, GDR Academy of Sciences and GDR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences: "The Individual and Society in the Class Struggle of Our Time." A translation of an earlier article on the subject by the same author is available under the heading, "Development of Personal Freedom in Socialism Discussed," in JPRS 69293, 22 Jun 77, No 1404 of this series, pp 105-118, followed on pp 119-127 by an item published under the heading, "Personal Freedom Discussed in Light of Scientific-Technical Progress," by Prof Guenter Kroeber. For additional related information see translations published under quoted headings in the following JPRS issues of this series: "'Subjective Rights,' Personal Freedom Essential to Socialism," 74723, 6 Dec 79, No 1744, pp 28-48; "Concept of Human Rights in Developed Socialist Society Discussed," 70919, 7 Apr 78, No 1520, pp 29-47]

[Text] The question about the place and development opportunities of human individuality in society is gaining increasing weight in the class conflict. Why is the deformation of human individuality a consequence of development of the productive forces under capitalism while their all-round development is a characteristic element of socialist society? What role does scientific-technical progress play in this? What does the tapping of all productive forces in the individual mainly amount to, and how is that being fostered by our party's economic and social policy?

The question about the place and prospects of the human individual within society has for centuries been the focal point of ideological party struggles, an issue that has become unusually exacerbated today, when the socialization of public life is advancing for everyone to see. What becomes of the individual now, of man's individual self-determination? Does a world with its dynamics and advancing rationality, shaped increasingly by science and technology, leave any room at all for human individuality and for lending a humanistic shape to life? Are under the conditions of accelerated social change any firm vital orientations left to the individual, are any secure and credible ideas of the sense of life possible at all any longer, or is there--as alleged in general by bourgeois ideologues today--a human "orientation crisis?"¹ What is the Marxist-Leninist view on that and what is its practical application in socialism?

By creatively applying Marxism-Leninism to the conditions in our country, our party program has worked out a scientifically sound, realistic and, at once, revolutionary orientation aimed at a practical implementation. It was confirmed and, at once, rendered more concrete at the 10th SED Congress--proceeding from what has been accomplished and from the requirements for the 1980's. Our party will carry on its proven course that unites its economic with its social policy and serves the well-being of the people, the happiness of the individual and, not last, an enriched development of his individuality. The emphasis is placed here on coping with science and technology and combining their advances with mass initiative to achieve the finest economic and cultural results. It is imperative to develop more rigorously, and prudently employ, the collective and individual creative capacities of the working people, their knowledge and skills, their training and dedication. "For the real wealth," says Marx, "is the developed productive force of all individuals."²

The development of the "productive force of all individuals" also marks the focal point of the competition movement by which the working people are picking up the course of the party congress and are heading toward great efficiency improvements through increasing labor productivity, effectiveness and production quality for the good of the people and for peace. Thus throughout our practical life, in labor, in the struggle for maximal scientific-technical, economic, sociopolitical and intellectual-cultural advances, a convincing answer is given to the question about the place and development opportunities and impulses for human individuality in socialism, about the ways into meaningful life for all members of our society.

Deformation of Human Individuality in the Power Sphere of Capitalism

How dismal, on the other hand, is the picture presented in the crisis-ridden world of capitalism: declining take-home wages, more and more social insecurity, prolonged high and rising unemployment, increasing crime and drug addiction mainly among youth, intellectual and moral disorder, material and cultural misery in many developing countries--these are the results of the profit economy and imperialist mobilization. All this confirms the following remark in the 10th party congress report: "The profit drive, and not love for men, is the vital element in imperialist modes of thought and conduct. . . . Imperialism is pitted against the democratic rights of the people, human dignity and intellectual freedom, like a dam."³ How correct has Karl Marx been who showed, in "Das Kapital," that the capitalist production would, to be sure, economize the use of constant capital but at the same time produce, more than any other mode of production, "a waste of men, of live labor, not only of flesh and blood, but also of nerves and brains, and the most immense squandering of individual development."⁴

That then is the picture there of social realities and of the individual development opportunities for the working people. Yet the political and ideological spokesmen for that order continue to allege, year after year, that socialism stifles the individual by collective organization, constrains individual freedom and kills individuality--in complete contrast to capitalism, where purportedly the dignity, inviolability and freedom of the individual hold sway. That is the logic of an upside-down universe! Its pugilists keep trying to wear out that reversal of concepts by their opinion manipulation through which they seek to indoctrinate men with the notion that all their lofty concepts depend on the power of capital. What people experience, however, makes them more and more aware of the contradiction between social reality and the pretense expounded, disintegrates the ties with capital, especially among youth in the capitalist countries, turning them increasingly against that power.

While some who represent that power, the reactionary-conservative forces, respond to it with concepts pervaded with authoritarian political theory, if not with police truncheons, others are looking for social-reformist replies. Thus, in the early 1970's the SPD made great efforts to prepare a basic document meant to set down the prospects for the freedom of the individual through equitable conditions, for the free development of each in mutual responsibility and helpfulness, and for free decisions by people having equal rights in the time up to 1985. This "orientation framework 1975-1985" was adopted at the 1975 Mannheim party congress, accompanied with much propaganda noise, and translated into many languages. What now has become of this promise of free individual development? As Herbert Wehner stated, already in 1979, based on undeniable facts, the document had, as an orientation toward further developments, strictly speaking left no trace.⁵ And recently, the members of the former orientation commission found themselves induced to state the text "had fast been forgotten." In terms of the practical politics of the party, the value of the document had been, "almost equal to zero--to put it plainly," having "no importance to FRG policy," and "no noteworthy influence" on government policy, and so forth. The paper had, however, not been completely forgotten: some SPD educational activities abroad had dealt with it, local party conferences had referred to it, and the SPD women's group had dealt with it "with some thoroughness."⁶

The vast waste of individuality Marx remarked upon has assumed gigantic dimensions in imperialism the more science and technology developed. It is precisely this constantly deepening antagonism in the development of the productive forces and human individuality that turns the surmounting of capitalist exploitation and social relations into a compelling historic requirement. As long ago as in 1845/46 Marx and Engels observed that the point had been reached where "the individuals must appropriate the available totality of productive forces, not only to obtain their own personal activity but to secure their own existence altogether."⁷

Only socialism can initiate this new, qualitatively higher developmental phase of human productivity and individuality. The 10th party congress once again made clear that socialism needs universally educated and skilled, talented, efficient individuals. The creative and expert work of all, their initiative, their education, their political lucidity and farsightedness, and their intellectual-cultural richness become the necessary condition in this social order for individual and social upward development--in conformity with the sense of socialism. It expresses that socialism is the humanistic order of the present era.

Social Foundations for Universal Individuality Development

Bourgeois ideologues, from the conservative wing down to the social-reformist forces, oppose this by telling us there are no eternally valid principles for the relations between the individual and society nor individual rights and personality values hovering above the struggles between the classes and social systems in our time. Yet life itself provides us with this evidence: the relationship between the individual and society is historic in nature. Each economic era, each social system, impresses this relationship, and thus the developmental opportunities, impulses and criteria of the individual, with its particular stamp. Each has its own image of man, its own personality ideals.

Naturally, everything that happens in society and history--except for natural disasters--under all social conditions ultimately results from actions taken by individuals. Men always make their own history. But this they do, as Marx put it, not at will, not under chosen, but under given and traditional circumstances.⁸ In conformity with the development of the productive forces they form their production relations which in turn determine the social and class structure, the class interests and the prevailing political, philosophic, artistic ideas and the political institutions of society. This means that human individuality can form only in the historic process, through labor, the class struggle, and the development of science and culture. The creative capacities and capabilities, the knowledge and skills, the modes of thinking and conduct, an individual has, as well as the opportunities for using these individual capabilities and capacities, are, in principle, shaped historically by the development of the productive forces and the social structures, by social and class impulses.

Sure enough, individually also depends on someone's physical and psychological traits, the particulars of his education and culture, his temperament, and his particular circumstances in his work and life. But that which fundamentally constitutes human individuality grows out of social development, out of the effects of social impulses, out of the individual's active participation in the historic process.

Over long historic periods man's individuality could hardly develop or only to a limited extent. The inane developmental and socialization level of the material productive forces and the narrowness of personal dependency, exploitation and servitude relations caused that. Material conditions for a richer, fuller and more diversified development for individuals only arose with the rising bourgeois order. The bourgeois revolution freed the individuals from personal dependency and servitude relationships. Enormous productive forces were created through social labor, production was socialized and internationalized, the narrow constraint of previous social development was broken. That was, however, an antagonistic development. Capitalism turned the material productive forces, which as such made possible a great and rich development of human productivity and individuality, into means of imperialist exploitation and power politics which in the outcome deformed and destroyed all their human individuality and comes into the broad daylight precisely during the current crisis of the capitalist system.

These constantly exacerbating antagonisms lead to one inevitable historic consequence: the free, rich, universal development of the individuals, which had first become economically possible and necessary in history because of the development of the material productive forces, becoming itself an ever more important factor in productivity development, requires the socialist revolution of the workers class and its allies. To the extent that society, led by the workers class and its party, takes control of the modern productive forces, uses them for the benefit of the people, and rapidly augments them, and to the extent that the workers class shapes the totality of social relations more and more in conformity with its class goals and also shapes the intellectual life of society in conformity with the principles of the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook, that higher developmental phase in the dialectics between individual and society assumes reality which Marx had described as follows: "Free individuality, based on the universal development of the individuals and the subordination of their communal, social productivity, as their social capacity . . . "9

Many discussions are carried on in the developed capitalist states in Western Europe about "alternatives" for the developmental trends of industry, science and technology occurring under state monopoly conditions. Their subjecting scientific-technical progress to the designs of the military-industrial complex and the multinational corporations produces more and more devastating effects threatening the natural and social life sources of the nations and, ultimately, human life and civilization as such. Thus, in the outcome of the imperialist aggressive and high mobilization policy, NATO's military expenditures rose to more than \$ 1.5 trillion over the last 10 years. Simultaneously, for example, developments in the EEC countries were marked by an enormous intensification of exploitation and social decline, there being already 24 million unemployed in the capitalist industrial countries by the end of 1980. All that forces the workers class, the peoples, all of working mankind, ever more strongly into anti-imperialist alternatives and eventually, to fight for the transition to the socialist mode of production. The need for it is inescapable.

But often the discussion of alternatives hides the intention to dodge the anti-imperialist struggle. The evil consequences of the imperialist application of the modern productive forces are blamed on science and technology as such. "Industrialism, " corporate technology," in fact economic growth as such, are being held up as

the root of all evil. Thus, "alternative modes of life" are being propagated that are supposed to ensure the individual development and self-realization of man independent of the development of the modern productive forces or even in blind enmity to the scientific-technical progress in our time by means of an escape into a petty bourgeois individualistic sphere of life. That is reactionary utopianism that in fact weakens the anti-imperialist movement and subjects working man still more to economic spontaneity.

Scientific-Technical Progress for the Good of Man

The economic strategy laid down by the 10th party congress makes clear that, to us, the scientific-technical revolution and the enormous dynamics of the modern productive forces in its train in no way vitiate the rich development of human individuality. On the contrary, they are the necessary bases for this development as economics all-around is the main field for our continuing social advances. That conforms fully with the insights by the classic authors of Marxism-Leninism. Marx in his ingenious farsightedness grasped the penetrating changes in the system of the material productive forces resulting as the necessary perspective from his investigations into industrial development and the technological application of the sciences, and he said in this connection: "In this transformation it is neither the immediate labor man performs himself nor the time he puts to work, but the appropriation of his own general productive force, his understanding of nature and his control over it in his capacity as a social entity—or, in one word, the development of the social individual—which appears as the great cornerstone of production and wealth."¹⁰ Marx foresaw a development which is assuming concrete shape today--through the broad application of microelectronics and robot technology and altogether through a rapid technological conversion of data into targeted basic research. He considered the control over the development of the productive forces by the associated producers, the workers class in power leading all of society, the crucial prerequisite for the all-round development of human individuality. It is this conception on which the economic strategy our party has elaborated, in conformity with our own conditions, is based.

None of this has anything to do with a blind and uncritical faith in technology, which the bourgeois side often alleges the Marxists have, nor with the notion that scientific-technical progress could lead by itself, automatically, to social progress and personality development. Our party's economic strategy is concerned with an overall social control of scientific-technical progress, its conscious and planned use as the basis for a unified economic and social policy, through which scientific-technical achievements unstintingly serve the good of the people and their advances ever more deeply affect men's ordinary life and steadily improve their working and living conditions. Uneasiness and anxiety about the rationalization and broad application of science and technology therefore are alien to the GDR workers class and its allies. The working people's basic experience with the economic policy of our party and government is that here the struggle for rationalization, for accelerating our scientific-technical progress, makes for a greater certitude of the future, greater stability and social security, the improvement in working conditions and a higher level of creativity in our labor and in our intellectual-cultural wealth, whereby also the happiness of persons and their families is enhanced. And that is a solid basis for forming strong performance motivations on the part of the individual workers and their collectives.

This does not mean there are no problems in making scientific-technical progress prevail in the dimensions charted by the 10th party congress. Already it shows where contradictions arise and new problems are ripening in it. The great dynamics in the development of the productive forces, which increasingly of course also affects occupational structures, and the increasing complexity of management and planning processes require, for instance, that an individual acquire new experiences and knowledge all the time and must develop the ability and willingness to adapt himself and work himself into new fields. That cannot be done without efforts or without conflicts, nor does it exclude personal failures. Furthermore—however clear we may be about the main features of the scientific-technological revolution in our country—we cannot always predict in every detail which problems this process will give rise to in the foreseeable future, it being so tempestuous and affecting the working and living conditions so deeply. That can come only through a generalization of the various experiences by the working people themselves.

The development of the material productive forces and of social labor as the most important sphere for generating socialist personalities thus shows that individual development does not take place in a harmonious sphere that knows no contradictions. Exploitation and class antagonisms are eliminated in socialism. The productive forces of social labor no longer confront the working people as alien and hostile forces. Yet developing into rich individuality remains a contradictory process. Only these contradictions—and that is what is crucial about them—are no longer those of waste and destruction but those of growth in individual and collective creative capacities. They are being resolved through socialist activity and socialist collectivity, through a joint struggle for an accelerated development of the productive forces, for improving the working and living conditions, and for consolidating our order of peace.

In contrast to the notion widespread in bourgeois literature that the role of the individual, of his subjective capabilities and his decision-making will diminish as science and technology pervade life, socialism in practice confirms the tested realization in the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook that man is and remains the most important productive force. Even under the conditions of the scientific-technical revolution the socialist cooperative efforts of workers and cooperative farmers with scientists and technicians, socialist competition, the skill and knowledge of the working people, and their initiative and dedication to their performance remain the chief creative capacity in socialist production. That is why the 10th SED Congress time and time again stressed the connection between scientific-technical progress and creative activity, skilled labor, and the higher demands placed on the initiative and capacity of the collectives and the individual working people.

Tapping All Productive Capacities of the Individual

The requirements for the 1980's also set new criteria for the struggle for the full development and use of the subjective elements in the productive forces. A solid foundation was laid for that under party leadership. The workers class has grown into a technically, politically and intellectual-culturally highly skilled force embodying an enormous production and progress potential. Almost 80 percent of all working people has completed training today. Circa 95 percent of the young people starting their work life has had vocational training. The proportion of university and technical school graduates has risen enormously in the economy.

Productive forces are growing up here the extensive, prudent use and maximal utilization and development of which acquire an ever greater importance for performance improvements, the boosting of labor productivity, and for scientific-technical and social progress.

This subjective productive force, which lies in training, in scientific-technical and economic education, in the cultural level, in the performance readiness and class-conscious discipline of the individual working people, as in their cooperation and collective competition, constitutes the inexhaustible growth and development source of socialist production. Its characteristic feature is that its proper use, conforming to the overall development of the productive forces, also amounts to its expanded reproduction toward qualitatively higher levels. The ability to take part in gaining science insights for future production and using possibilities of the scientific-technical revolution for economic performance and efficiency growth and for putting modern technologies into operation and so forth grows to the extent that it is called upon to be used. This makes clear what Marx had in mind when he said that the real wealth lies in the developed productive force of all individuals and that the full development of the individuals "being the largest productive force, affects in turn the productive force of labor."¹¹

Yet even this vital productive capacity of our society can grow and become effective only through a lengthy process in which contradictions must be resolved and difficulties be overcome. Not all enterprises do as yet use all available training and educational potential effectively enough or stimulate its further growth in the interest of high achievements. There still are significant disparities between good and less good enterprise collectives. Discussions at the 10th party congress have brought out what has to be done to convey information on the plan tasks down to every single job, to involve the working people in considerations and decision-making and use their suggestions, while providing for a creative work atmosphere and high labor discipline, promoting working people initiatives and disseminating the experiences of the best workers in the competition. Especially the young generation must receive the necessary encouragement, and every young person must find the right place. It is especially important to spot gifts and talents at a good time and foster them systematically, noting that this as a rule involves personalities distinguishing themselves by a great wealth of ideas and thoughts, clarity about long-range matters, persistence in the solution of problems, stable interests and forming solid socialist motivations, through which they could become important models.

Important reserves for socialist society and the formation of a diversified individuality lie in the great opportunities for personality formation inherent in our society. They become effective when the people use them in what they are doing themselves. This greatly brings into play their insights, all their habits, feelings and inclinations, the mentality of an individual and his personal goals in life, and his concepts of the purpose of living. One must accept as a fact that this self-determination of an individual gains much greater and a qualitatively higher importance in socialism, for the social process as well as for individuality development, than ever before in history. That is inseparable from that socialism needs individuals and forms individuals who excel through productive capabilities, a genuine performance ability, technical skills, ideological firmness in the working class sense and a great variety of relations with the socialist order. Therein lies

one great advantage of socialism. "It becomes clear," the status report to the 10th party congress says, "what an enormous advantage it is for socialism to be able to rely on the conscious and voluntary initiative of the masses and their active participation in the exercise of power. That precisely is what clearly renders our socialist society historically superior to the capitalist."¹² The socialist character of our government and social order does not produce socialist modes of thinking and conduct mechanically. They must in the process that constructs the new society be consciously and purposefully shaped by the political-ideological work of the party organizations and all social forces on their side and by a politically responsible activity of all managers.

Individualism of any kind is incompatible with socialist modes of thought and conduct. That, after all, conforms to an attitude in life according to the saying that charity begins at home and to the desire to settle down in some hiding-place where one can indulge a nice living without doing any commensurate work for society, at the expense of others, an attempt to shunt oneself off from the demands of society and escape all social responsibility. Such a stance stems from the history, of thousands of years, of exploitation, thievery, private property, the ominous traditions of which the imperialist class enemy seeks to keep alive through all sorts of ideological influences. Thus it is all the more important effectively to promote the struggle for firm socialist modes of thought and conduct through fine management and planning in practice, the consistent implementation of the performance principle, the purposeful management of competition and the involvement of all working people, an effective labor organization and the further consolidation of the socialist legal order.

Real socialism in practice has provided our country's citizens with the experience that an individual can lend meaning, content and satisfaction to his life mainly by judging from the vantage point of the overall social importance of what he does and decides. To become active as creators and fighters, to take part where they are, according to their abilities, in having the advantages of socialist society take effect every more completely, to contribute their share to the coping with scientific-technical progress, augmenting the material and intellectual-cultural potentials of our society, and the strengthening of socialism and peace—in this, as demonstrated by our great competition movement, more and more working people in our country find the meaning of life in our era and our society. Such a position is worthy of a socialist citizen by creating mobilization capacities for great abilities and achievements, for a happy life rich in content.

FOOTNOTES

1. H. Luebbe, "Praxis der Philosophie—praktische Philosophie—Geschichtstheorie" (Philosophy in Practice—Practical Philosophy—Theory of History), Stuttgart, 1978, p 127.
2. Karl Marx, "Principles of the Critique of Political Economy," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1953, p 596.
3. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, pp 15 and 17.

4. Karl Marx, "Das Kapital," Vol III, Marx/Engels, "Werke" (Works), Vol 25, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1964, p 99.
5. DIE NEUE GESELLSCHAFT, Bonn, No 11, 1979, p 984.
6. Ibid., No 1, 1981, pp 4, 13, 15, 17, 12 and 6.
7. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, "The German Ideology," "Werke," Vol 3, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1958, p 67.
8. Cf. Karl Marx, "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte," Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 8, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1960, p 115.
9. Karl Marx, "Principles . . . ," op. cit., p 75.
10. Ibid., p 593.
11. Ibid., p 599.
12. Comrade Erich Honecker, op. cit., p 140.

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ARTISTS TO FOCUS ON SED ECONOMIC STRATEGY, IDEOLOGY

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 83, 5 Jun 81 'Iwe-kultur' supplement

[Report from Berlin: "Worries About Young Artists' Ideological Loyalty." A translation of the East Berlin EINHEIT article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] The SED is evidently worried about the ideological steadfastness of the young artists in the GDR. It could not be missed, the party organ EINHEIT (No 6, 1981) wrote, that quite some artists still had difficulties acquiring "productive rapport with reality and a Marxist-Leninist understanding of history." Therefore, "still more effective ideological work" among the young artists was necessary.

SED Culture Functionary's Discussion

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 6, Jun 81 signed to press 13 May 81
pp 586-592

[Article by Franz Bentschel, deputy chief, Cultural Affairs Department, SED Central Committee: "Continuity of Socialist Cultural Policy." For various references to other items of related information see translations of previous EINHEIT articles by GDR Culture Minister Hans-Joachim Hoffmann and SED Academician Prof Hans Koch, respectively, published under the heading, "Aesthetic, Revolutionary Aspects of Socialist Culture Analyzed," in JPRS 78364, 23 Jun 81, No 1891 of this series, pp 48-62]

[Text] Art and culture are inseparable from the economic and social policy aimed at the welfare of the people. In the closest interaction with a high economic efficiency improvement and with the formation of socialist personalities, demands placed on the quality and effectiveness of culture, art and art criticism are rising, the working people's cultural needs become more differentiated, art turns more to the questions of the value and dignity of man and his claim to happiness in socialism, a higher cultural level and a depicting of the workers class remaining key problems for further cultural progress.

As for all other areas of social development so also for the field of culture and art the 10th party congress has drawn up a balance-sheet and elaborated the next tasks for the further implementation of our party program throughout the 1980's. "It may be stated," the central committee report says, "that the cultural policy decided on by the ninth party congress is bearing good fruit. Art and culture are having an increasingly more effective influence on the development of socialist personalities and the molding of a socialist way of life. . . . By their achievements the creators of art and culture have a great share in that the values and ideals of socialism more and more permanently govern the thinking, feeling and conduct of the working people."¹

The successful development of our socialist culture and art depends on our party's determined leadership in the struggle for the implementation of the main task. It therefore also is of fundamental strategic importance for our art and culture that the 10th party congress decided to carry on the policy of the main task in the 1980's even under more complicated conditions, to secure and gradually extend, that is to say, the people's material and cultural standard of living through high achievements. Ultimately the continuity of our party's cultural policy also is rooted in this strategic objective, this policy that is aimed at the welfare of the people.

Secured Positions

In purposefully carrying on the socialist cultural revolution in the GDR our party can proceed from secured positions. That includes above all that culture and art are more strongly understood and promoted as an inseparable component of the overall social processes in the further shaping of the developed socialist society. In the outcome of the ideological maturation process that has gone on since the eighth party congress and was strongly affected by the ninth, the party's responsibility has greatly increased for carrying on the socialist cultural revolution as part of the socialist revolution in the GDR. Of very special importance to it were the sixth central committee session (1972) and the Politburo resolution of 25 January 1977 on the Leipzig bezirk management report on the political-ideological management of intellectual-cultural life in Leipzig Bezirk. Their effective analysis has helped improve the quality of cultural policy management activity in party bezirk and many kreis managements. Good experiences have been gathered in the bezirke and kreises in the work with long-range conceptions for the development of socialist art and culture which now are meant to be continued for the 1981-1985 period.

The higher quality of cultural policy management activity is crucially responsible for a more substantial, diversified and stimulating intellectual-cultural life. Far-reaching impulses emanate from it which enrich both the personality development and the molding of a socialist way of life. In this, the interrelations between the management of competition and the promotion of intellectual-cultural life in the socialist work collectives have become far closer. Working class influence on the development of culture and art has grown further. There are many indications that the relations between ethics and aesthetics are assuming novel features under prevailing social conditions. Artistic discoveries and effects have become an irreplaceable component of intellectual life in our socialist society.

Through their works the writers and artists prove themselves reliable alliance partners of the workers class, conscious and creative coshapers of the developed socialist society. So the 10th party congress was able to state: "Our party's close ties with the writers and creators of culture are a precious good and the basis for the successful further development of our socialist national culture."² Life itself has confirmed this experience: nothing or no one can disturb, let alone destroy, this alliance. It has a long tradition and far-reaching prospects.

Among the secured positions finally also is that we have reached a qualitatively higher level in our cultural cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries. This cooperation enriches our intellectual-cultural life and our creation of art, promotes the further development of the internationalist character of our socialist culture and art, and enhances their power of international radiation in the sharper class struggles of our time.

Higher Demands

Proceeding from a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the results achieved, the 10th party congress has emphatically pointed out that in the 1980's "the demands placed on the quality and effectiveness of our socialist culture and art will rise further."³

That follows, first of all, from our focus on high economic efficiency improvements. The economy constitutes the centerpiece in our party's social policy because there mainly the decisions are made on further advances in the shaping of the developed socialist society. So it is imperative to strengthen and deepen the understanding of the creators of art and culture of the requirements in our party's economic strategy for the 1980's. This above all calls for a deep understanding of the interrelations between greater economic efficiency and an improved quality and effectiveness of our socialist culture and art. For one thing, the material preconditions for culture and art can develop only in line with general economic performance improvements, because it is also true here that we can only consume what has first been produced. And then again, advances in culture and art in turn affect the tempo of our economic performance improvement. Much as economic performance improvement depends on the possibilities of our scientific-technical revolution, decisive is and remains man's creativity, his dedication and readiness to use these possibilities fully and combine them prudently with the advantages of socialism. And especially art and culture can help greatly "release the creative in man and enhance the pleasure of work and the working people's sense of well-being in socialist society."⁴

So it is a matter of shaping further the kind of cultured atmosphere in all public domains of our socialist society in which man can develop and prove himself as a personality. That includes the propensity for ideological education and technical training as much as popular cultural and artistic production, dealing with the arts, the appropriation and dissemination of our cultural heritage and the promotion of entertainment and sociability. Because, after all, this involves all of man, the entire wealth of his relations with nature and society in history, the present and the future. And in all this, higher demands for quality and effectiveness in our socialist culture and art also are due to the high educational level of the people in our country.⁵

The last five-year plan gave us 1,184,100 successful secondary school graduates. Each was offered an apprenticeship or an enrollment for studies. In the same period, 244,700 regular university, college and technical school graduates started jobs in the economy. There were 310,400 working people who acquired specialists' skills, and 75,000 specialists earned their foreman-credentials. More than 1.5 million working people took part annually in some form of advanced training. We are more and more dealing with educated readers, viewers and listeners whose rapport with art and culture is becoming more demanding, critical and sovereign. This again has nothing to do with elitist tendencies. Rather, the rising educational level gives rise to a greater differentiation in cultural needs which in turn becomes an impulse for the development of a diversified, substantive and stimulating cultural life.

Higher demands for the quality and effectiveness of our socialist culture and art also arise, not last, from the further exacerbation of the international class conflict in the 1980's. Experience demonstrates that culture and art have become a major battleground of the international class struggle. The ruling circles of the FRG, above all, constantly seek to use culture as a vehicle of their revanchist policy. Their thesis of a supposedly unified German culture merely expresses their efforts to keep the "German question" open. But nothing is any longer open in this regard. An imperialist culture rules in the FRG, confronted by elements of democratic and of socialist culture. In the GDR there develops the socialist German national culture, the character of which was defined by our party's Central Committee General Secretary Comrade Erich Honecker in his important speech during the conference with creators of culture and art on 22 June 1979 as follows: "It is shaped by the goals and ideals of the revolutionary workers class and is a culture of the whole people. It is rooted in the progressive traditions in the culture of our people and of all mankind. It is closely tied in with the cultures of the Soviet Union and of the other countries in the socialist community of states. And it is open to all valuable accomplishments in humanistic culture all over the world."

The successful development and increased international radiation power of our national culture is a crucial factor in the struggle for safeguarding peace, which is and remains the most important thing. A rich intellectual-cultural life bolsters the superiority of socialism as a social order of deep humanity and human dignity, and the only one that can resolve the vital problems of mankind.

Unity of the Material and the Cultural

The 10th party congress has once again reiterated that it is an accepted fact to us that in harmony with the material standard of living we are also raising the cultural because we seek a meaningful and beautiful existence for all in socialism. It is always a matter of developing both sides. Neither must be neglected because only the targeted promotion of all conditions of life--the material as the cultural--can ensure the all-round development of the socialist way of life. Securing a material standard of living is and remains decisive, of course. As Friedrich Engels said in 1883, the developmental law of human history consists of the simple fact that "men above all must first eat, drink, have a place to stay and clothe themselves before they can engage in politics, science, art, religion and so forth, in as much as the production of the immediate material means of subsistence, and

any given economic development stage of a people at that, or of a historic period, forms the basis out of which the state institutions, the concepts of law, the art and even the religious ideas of the people concerned have developed."⁷

Securing the material conditions of life has always been the basis for human existence. Under the conditions of the worldwide class conflict between socialism and imperialism it becomes the political issue par excellence. It is the dynamics, continuity and efficiency of our economy from which the knowledge and sense of social comfort and the confidence in our future arise.

Securing and gradually raising our material standard of living affects the development and satisfaction of new cultural needs as, vice versa, the cultural standard of living likewise affects the development and satisfaction of material needs in life. That has become more and more visible above all in the fulfillment of our housing construction program. Since the eighth party congress, 1.4 million apartments have been newly built or modernized. Thereby housing conditions have improved in the last 10 years for approximately 4.25 million people. Housing and residential areas are gaining greater importance for our intellectual-cultural life. Every new apartment generates new opportunities for the development and satisfaction of cultural needs. That is reflected, if not solely, certainly also by the fact that the purchase of books, tape recorders, art objects and so forth has noticeably risen in recent years. During the last five-year plan the book trade turnover has risen by 32 percent, while our state's art trade has more than doubled. To be sure, a higher material standard of living leads not automatically, or spontaneously, as it were, to cultural needs and habits of life that conform with the socialist way of life. Their development calls for constant conscious and systematic promotion by our party, our state organs and all social forces.

Focus on the Workers Class

Our chief cultural policy task is to improve the intellectual-cultural prerequisites for higher performance and for the formation of socialist personalities further. For that reason our party pays special attention to raising the cultural level especially of the workers class and its achievements for the development of socialist culture and art. That follows from the growing role of the workers class in the process of the continued shaping of the developed socialist society. As the producing class that exercises power, it has a decisive influence, together with the other working people, on the progress of culture in the GDR.

Bookings in Culture and Club Houses According to Type

	1970	1975	1980
Total	317,348	461,805	558,479
Lectures, discussions and so forth	168,020	166,666	199,964
Art events	91,203	98,111	107,618
Exhibitions	4,234	6,171	6,692
Dances and social affairs	53,891	90,638	130,098
Other events	-	99,219	114,107

Attendants of Events in Culture and Club Houses in Terms of Subject Groups (per 1,000 persons)

	1970	1975	1980
Social sciences, politics, economics	4,259,9	4,869,0	5,136,6
Natural sciences	372,1	371,4	419,9
Art and literature	620,5	643,0	622,3
Other subjects of general education	2,658,6	2,277,6	2,581,1

That is especially reflected in the desire to work, study and live socialistically. In the struggle for the honorific, "collective of socialist work," high achievements by the working people through socialist competition combine with various activities in their intellectual-cultural life which complement and enrich each other. In many work collectives the need for ideological education, vocational training, cultured working conditions, meetings with art and artists, participating in popular culture activities, and interesting social experiences has already formed in a big way. The culture and education plans of the trade unions take care of that more and more. Holding enterprise festivals in cooperation with the given territories has been found useful. In recent years there have been more than 3,000 such festivals attended by more than 10 million annually. High points will continue to be the GDR's workers festivals, which have turned into exhibits for the creators of culture among the workers class.

An essential concern lies in further improving socialist work culture. This is a matter of lending cultural shape to working conditions, of creating the kind of atmosphere that encourages a broad spread of working class creativity. Through its firm alliance with the other working people, the GDR workers class is coming up with great achievements in socialist culture and art. That goes all the way from the dissemination of our scientific world-outlook to creating favorable conditions for developing culture and art. It embraces its own achievements in creative culture as much as its alliance with writers and creators of culture, public commissions and a massive appropriation of works of art coming out of contemporary socialist production and from our progressive cultural heritage.

The Effects of Art

Considering that the arts occupy an indispensable and irreplaceable spot in the life of our society, the 10th party congress has further defined the role and tasks of art in socialism.

Art, as one knows, affects all of man, his ideas and feelings, his moods and passions, his social conduct and his creative imagination. "Art has the special ability, which differentiates it from science, to take hold of the whole person and enter into him even if he himself is not aware of it."⁸ Our party respects and promotes art in its particular aesthetic quality and efficacy. That has often been emphasized in the resolutions, especially since the eighth party congress. And here it is mainly those works that are making an important contribution to socialist personality formation and the development of the working people's creativity which recognize and treat in an artistically accomplished fashion the processes, full of conflict, in revolutionary social development from realistic positions that are close to the workers class. Viewed that way, great ideological effects come from art, in particular from literature, which must still be more comprehensively used for our political, world-transforming tasks. Also in this respect we are in fundamental agreement with the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and of the most recent congresses of other fraternal parties in socialist countries.

The 10th party congress has paid high tribute to the art of socialist realism concerned with picking up and responding to moving issues of our time. Authors and artists have turned their attention to the whole breadth of vital manifestations in socialism. Their special interest lies in the questions of socialist morality and ethics. These are questions about the value and dignity of man and his place in society, about freedom and responsibility and the claim to happiness and the chances for its realization under socialism. The internationalist content of our art has become more prominent. An important aspect in our works of art is given to the historic experiences of our course. Socialist art also proves itself in confronting views and attitudes that are alien to our socialist society. That calls for firm socialist positions as points of departure. We shall always turn back resolutely any attempts at spreading hostile ideologies dressed up as art and aimed against real socialism and our party policy.

The builders of socialism expect intellectual stimulation and enrichment of art, impulses for coping with the demands of our time. In dealing with art we seek intellectual, moral and philosophic gains.

Depicting the workers class is and remains the key problem in the further progress of art. The aggregate of workers' characters has undoubtedly been enriched in our art of socialist realism in recent years. That is true of movies and television as of new novels and stories, for the visual arts as well as theater. And still much remains to be done for convincingly presenting the workers class in its most important sphere of life, in the exercise of its political power and the coping with the scientific-technical revolution.

The 10th party congress supports the desire of the artists associations to conduct the discussion of new artistic achievements more from the vantage point of the principles of socialist realism. "Party-mindedness, affinity with the people and content in socialist ideas are and remain the criteria mainly deciding the value of a work of art."⁹ In this regard, literary and art criticism ought to become more effective. During the realization of the Politburo decision on the tasks of literary and art criticism, the ideological-aesthetic level of many reviews has undoubtedly risen. Much more, however, it should be worked out in literary and art criticism what the value of new insights and opinions is that are derived from new works of art. And here one should be quite frank too about weaknesses or mistakes.

It cannot be ignored that along with many outstanding achievements there are also some new works of art that do not live up to the high intellectual, moral and aesthetic demands of our time. Art needs a public, and so it also needs a frank and public literary and art criticism. That presupposes two things, of course: the artists' understanding for the complicated nature of the social processes, firm, party-minded and people-oriented positions in this struggle, and society's understanding for the complicated nature of the process of artistic creation and respect for artistic talent. "Artistic talent is indeed rare, and so it is and remains a firm principle of our party's cultural policy to deal carefully with it and encourage it attentively."¹⁰

That holds true in particular for the training and education of the young generation of artists. At present there are circa 7,000 artists below 35 years of age

at work in the various fields of art production in the GDR. The number of students at art colleges has risen to almost 3,000. Since the eighth party congress a total of 8,200 young artists has been trained. Many of them play already a considerable part in developing their particular fields of art. It must not be overlooked, however, that there are still quite a few young artists who have difficulties acquiring productive rapport with reality and a Marxist-Leninist understanding of history. That calls for still more effective ideological work among the young artists, whose best representatives already contribute an important part of the socialist realist art in our country.

A crucial condition for the further successful development of our socialist national culture is further deepening the leading role of our party, not last by consolidating the cohesiveness and strengthening of the party organizations in the artists associations and the cultural and art institutions. It will be an important task in following the 10th party congress directions further to elevate the level of intra-party life and of the political-ideological effectiveness of those party organizations.

FOOTNOTES

1. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 105.
2. Ibid., p 106.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Cf. ibid., p 107.
6. Erich Honecker, "Our Party's Cultural Policy Is Being Implemented With Success," "Unerschuetterliches Buendnis zwischen Partei und Kulturschaffenden" (Unshakable Alliance Between Party and Creators of Culture), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1979, pp 58-59.
7. Friedrich Engels, "The Funeral of Karl Marx," Marx/Engels, "Werke" (Works), Vol 19, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 335.
8. Johannes R. Becher, "The Poetic Principle," "Gesammelte Werke" (Collected Works), Vol 14, Aufbau publishing house, Berlin and Weimar, 1972, p 407.
9. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht . . .," op. cit., p 108.
10. Ibid, p 107.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

'PROGRESSIVE' ASPECTS OF PRUSSIAN HISTORY ILLUSTRATED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 6, Jun 81 signed to press 13 May 81
pp 593-600

[Article by Prof Dr Helmut Bock, Central Institute for History, GDR Academy of Sciences: "About the Beginning of the Bourgeois Revolution in Prussia: On the Occasion of the 150th Anniversary of the Death of Reichsfreiherr (Baron) vom und zum Stein." For various references to other items of related information see translations of East and West German articles published under quoted headings in the following JPRS issues of this series: "Clausewitz Accepted as 'Reformer and Patriot' in German History," 77538, 9 Mar 81, No 1855, pp 10-21; "Prussian History To Be Accepted as Part of GDR 'Heritage'" and "Importance of National, Local Patriotism Explained," 76749, 3 Nov 80, No 1823, pp 16-34 and 35-39, respectively]

[Text] Reichsfreiherr vom und zum Stein was the top head among those progressively oriented men who started a work of liberal reform in Prussia, against the resistance from the reactionary aristocracy, after the defeat by France and the Diktat peace of Tilsit (1807). Thereby they initiated the transition process from the feudal to the capitalist society. The historic distinction of the Prussian reformers like Stein, Scharnhorst, Gneisenau, Boyen, Clausewitz and many others is that they objectively helped the bourgeois revolution of the German people to break through.

From the bourgeois revolutions in England and France came that world historic change which first transformed all of Europe, and thus also the German states, from feudalism to capitalism. Along with many other famous contemporaries it made one man stand out who, in the age of the French Revolution, attested to the insight and adaptability of some Prussian politicians while also to the determination by those nationally conscious patriots to preserve their identity. Friedrich Engels recalled him when he judged the years 1808 to 1813 to have been the start of the "bourgeois revolution" in Prussia.¹ Nor was this man unknown to Lenin who praised "some handfuls of noblemen and some small groups of bourgeois intellectuals" making history among the German people at the time of Emperor Napoleon's predatory wars.² This is Karl Reichsfreiherr vom und zum Stein, whose work illuminates the historic experience that patriotic movements generated within the international field of tension of revolutions are committed to political and social progress.

The French Revolution and Haute Bourgeois Results

The Third Estate which rose in France in 1789 against the ruling class, the nobility and the clergy, upset the privileges of the right honorable and reverend sirs under the banner of enlightened reason and bourgeois freedom: all ideas, forms of life and institutions were to be placed before the judgment of reason either to be justified or to be thrown onto the trash heap of history. Superstition was to give way to eternal truth, injustice to perfect justice, servitude to assured human dignity. Reason, having recognized the equality, by nature, of all men, demanded a new social order where "freedom" and "equality" were to be guaranteed as inviolable human and civic rights.

The course and essential outcome of the French Revolution is known well enough. Late feudal absolutism had to give way to the constitutional monarchy, it, in turn, to the bourgeois republic, and that republic, again, radicalized itself into the Jacobinic revolutionary-democratic dictatorship—all these merely steps in rigorously enforcing a progress which under the objective conditions of that era could only produce the capitalist social order. On the wreckage of the feudal aristocracy and the bodies of the murdered Jacobin leaders there triumphed the bourgeoisie. The revolution, called the Great Revolution, ended with the coup d'etat by the Thermidorians,* the establishing of the haute bourgeois Directorate, and the military coup of General Napoleon Bonaparte.

How much had political reality departed from the hopes and promises of the Great Revolution in the first decade of the 19th century—only 15 years after the revolution had begun! The hereditary empire of Napoleon I scratched the concept of human rights from the text of the new French Constitution. He replaced a National Assembly for the whole country by the voting machinery of one man, the self-administering organs of the revolutionary masses by the prefectural system of a bureaucracy militarily organized, and the civic equality of all loyal republicans by another hereditary privilege of the imperial merit aristocracy. On the day of his coronation (1804) Emperor Napoleon, the military dictator of the haute bourgeois type, had the crown, sword and scepter of Charlemagne borne ahead of him. This abolition of the republic with all that it implied induced Ludwig van Beethoven to revoke with an angry stroke of his pen the dedication to the general of the revolution Bonaparte on the score of his Eroica symphony.

The German states became objects of haute bourgeois hegemonial politics. To ensure France's supremacy on the continent, Napoleon completed the annexation of the left bank of the Rhine and abused the larger feudal princes' greed for land as an axe by which to deal the brittle entity of the old German empire its fatal blow, because those princes canceled their fealty to their Hapsburg Emperor and joined, under Napoleon's protectorate, in the Confederation of the Rhine (1806). This protector then used the confederation of states in his competition with England. Liberal reforms in the new French establishments, such as the Kingdom of Westphalia, the Grand Duchies of Berg and Frankfurt, but also in the principalities preserved in South Germany, were to help make available more and higher taxes, conscript soldiers and war materiel by way of abolishing feudal privileges and enforcing bourgeois equality under law. No one else there was but Napoleon Bonaparte to whom these

*Thermidorians--adherents to the counterrevolutionary change of 9 Thermidor (27 July) 1794 in the French Revolution, named after the month of Thermidor (heat month), the 11th month of the French Revolutionary Calendar.

state administration measures, bent on despoliation, yet pioneering in their way, could be traced, which also initiated the quality-change from feudalism to capitalism in Germany. They pushed ahead the solution of the main socioeconomic contradiction of the era. The military power and occupational bureaucracy of France brought with them the Code Napoleon. It also proclaimed to the Germans the articles of liberalism which settled the social relations among individuals on the basis of capitalist private property.

But as Napoleon, the supreme representative of haute bourgeois military despotism, exploited the people's broad working masses at home or bled them to death on Europe's battlegrounds, he subjected the foreign nations to semicolonial dependency. The weapons of his armies, spoilt by victory, were coercive tools of an oppressive and conquering power. The code of legal equality cast the shadow of bourgeois class power and alien rule.

Against it arose the growing resistance of many nations bent under the destructive economic warfare, haute bourgeois trade monopoly and military alien rule of France. Napoleon's troops soon no longer fought against cheap mercenaries and dull serfs of the feudal system, propped up by financial injections from the London government. Different than before, changed enemies now rose up against them who started to appropriate the liberal results of the French Revolution by reforms and also adapted its military innovations. National independence movements rose against the regime of a country that had rated as the birthplace of "freedom" and "equality" but had now reversed the great ideas of 1789 into insanity and inhumanity.

The Prussian State Crisis

Among France's neighbors Prussia was a land where already for nearly two decades an antifeudal unrest had been fomenting among the citizens and peasants, the lower middle class and the early proletarians. But not until the military defeat against France and the imposed peace of Tilsit (1807) were Frederick's state and Prussia's feudal society thrown into an acute disintegration crisis. Now the historic question arose whether a force could be found that would use the increased misery and the latent rage of the people's masses to force the country into revolutionary change.

The bourgeoisie was the historically appointed class to enforce capitalist progress and establish the liberal state. But because in this concrete situation it lacked the economic and political maturity of a leadership class, it also lacked the ideological and organizational ability to lead the people's masses against the tottering regime. Furthermore, it had drawn but consistently negative lessons from the French Revolution. Misinterpreting and rejecting, since the contemporary experience with the Jacobinic dictatorship, any people's revolution as an "anarchy" by destructive masses, the bourgeoisie, as a propertied and exploiting class, gave up any claim to any expression of revolutionary intent.

Yet one force there was, determined to initiate the bourgeois revolution in Prussia on moderate tracks: civil servants, officers, land owners, intellectuals who, in class terms, came from the progressively minded noblemen and members of the bourgeoisie and who made up that portion of the civil service, the army and the educational system which would provide the ruling class of Prussia with "the reason it

required to rule."⁴ They understood the collapse of the old Prussian monarchy as a bankruptcy of outdated ideas and institutions, recognized the bourgeoisie and the popular masses as impulses for social development, but desired to be governed by an enlightened monarchy. Most of them regarded France as a country with too radical a political revolution whose proclaimed goals had furthermore been discredited by Napoleon's empire. So they looked for their model in England and favored the example there of a social transition from feudalism to capitalism which ultimately was brought about as a compromise between the noble aristocracy and the bourgeois propertied estate. The historically unavoidable transformation in Prussia was to come about by way of a reformist government policy based on the authority of the monarch with approval from the aristocracy willing, as these reformers wished, to look for libertarian consent from the citizens and peasants.

Bourgeois historiography makes a great deal of the fact that this reformist trend was allowed to come forth with some reform ideas even before the 1806/07 war, from people like Hardenberg, Stein and Scharnhorst, but it is as a rule most reticent in reporting on the policy of Frederick William III and his reactionary cabinet councils that let any genuine reform attempt die on the vine. This way the historic truth is hidden that it was only France's force of arms which became catastrophic for Prussia and confronted it with the need for a bourgeois revolution. In the Duchy of Warsaw and the Kingdom of Westphalia, Napoleon had bourgeois reforms proclaimed. Those were thus "two spurs he pushed into the flanks of the Prussian state,"⁵ forcing Prussia itself to adopt reforms and the king, to appoint suitable top government officials for handling them.

The Strategy and Policy of Stein's Reform Ministry

In the summer of 1807 the King of Prussia charged new government commissions with his temporary government administration. Their members were primarily East Prussian civil servants whose views of the world had been shaped by bourgeois experiences in practice and theory: the early maritime trade of their province with England, the liberal free trade doctrine of the Scot Adam Smith and the Koenigsberg enlightenment ideas of philosopher Immanuel Kant as well as of the national economist Christian Jakob Kraus. They proposed to their monarch a reform of property relations as a crucial measure for promoting bourgeois welfare, increasing tax revenue and, thus, surmounting the government's financial crisis. The various bills had nearly all been completed when Stein arrived at the monarch's residence in Memel, on 4 October was appointed chief state minister and, through his personality, enhanced East Prussian liberalism by another element supporting the reform movement.

Stein stemmed from a baronial family with its roots in Nassau/Lahn for half a millenium which had lost its independence due to the policy of Napoleon and the Rhine Confederation princes. Baronial and imperial patriotic freedom ideas had kept alive in this minister as a sharp thorn against absolutistic princely power as much as against Napoleonic bureaucracy--but they merged here too with modern experiences and liberal insights. Those he had gained as a student at Goettingen University, which was strongly under the influence of English Enlightenment, on study tours through Britain and, above all, as the supreme president of the Westphalian chambers dealing with the commerce and mines of those Prussian lands. Stein advocated the freedom of personality. But in contrast to the East Prussian liberals, he did not absolutely adhere to the bourgeois-individualistic free trade

doctrine, particularly because he held the conviction that legal barriers should have to be erected, on behalf of the common good, to the boundless individualism and the selfishness of the propertied and educated.

Stein wanted to preserve the three estates of nobility, citizens and peasants as the principal pillars of a new order freed from feudal privileges. By means of sensibly reconstituting those electoral bodies that even back in the Middle Ages had represented the estates of a country vis-a-vis the princes, but also by means of reconstructing the urban and rural communal representations, free proprietors now were to learn to organize and administer their circumstances of public life under their own joint responsibility. Estate parliaments and self-administration organs, which would in part confine or complement, if not render superfluous, the activity of the government bureaucracy, were to establish the "harmony between the spirit of the nation, its views and needs and those of the government authorities." Stein's Nassau Memorandum (1807), where these ideas are set down, outlines a reform program meant to introduce the transition from feudal absolutism to a bourgeois constitutional state through a graded arrangement of representative corporate bodies: from bottom to top there were to emerge the free communities, the kreis assemblies, the provincial assemblies all the way up to the imperial estates for all of Prussia, and the final, still unclear, goal was the rebirth of a German empire.

Right after assuming office, Stein had to decide on the contradictory property reform bills. On 9 October 1807 there was issued for all of Prussia the "edict concerning an eased ownership and free use of landed property and the personal circumstances of the rural population." This "October Edict" proclaimed the "free disposition of goods" by releasing landed property from all feudal restraints on sale and purchase, allowing citizens and farmers to acquire estates but also the aristocrats to enlarge their estates or to move to town to engage in some bourgeois occupation. At the same time the institution of serfdom was abolished as of 11 November 1810. "After the Martini Day of 1810 there are none but free people," the significant statement says which was meant to mobilize the peasant masses for their fatherland's life-and-death issues.

In proclaiming the free mobility of landed property, the October Edict initiated the lengthy process of a social quality change which also in Prussia led from feudal to capitalist property relations. But in contrast to the French Revolution, which had expropriated the feudal lords, discounted indemnities for them and distributed the land, in lots, to free peasants, the reform edict established no revolutionary, democratic land reform. The land remained the property of landed proprietors, and the peasant, though "free" as a person in the formal sense of the law, who was settled and cultivated the land of the landed proprietors, had to continue his old statute-labor and dues for those proprietors for making use of the land. Furthermore the landlords retained their privileges of patrimonial jurisdiction and local police power because they rated as part and parcel of estate ownership. The land reform--the key issue of the bourgeois revolution--thus was introduced in Prussia by a legislation which did not destroy the economic and political power of the aristocracy.⁶

This outcome characterizes the opportunities but also the limits in the work of the reformers under the concrete conditions of 1807. Stein himself advocated economically strong small-scale farms by his estate-oriented reform ideas, and thus

a certain measure of peasant protection, especially as he had wanted to turn precisely these peasants through the land reform into tax payers for the state, corporate representatives of the planned representational organs, and patriots of the fatherland. But he had to yield to the liberal doctrine of his associates who, following their English model, sought a rationally operated agriculture based on estate ownership. All the reformers together were kept in check by the resistance of the reactionary landed aristocracy. It agitated especially against Stein as someone who through improved reforms intended to abolish the still existing dependency of the peasants, the tax rights of the nobles, patrimonial jurisdiction and the police power of the estate owners. From the October Edict to Hardenberg's Regulatory Law (1811), which justified the peasants' acquiring land, the reformers struggled against the tough resistance of the aristocracy in all Prussian provinces. It could not prevent the capitalist development of agriculture, to be sure, but forced it into a Procrustean bed, which Lenin termed the Prussian way,⁷ the undemocratic mode of land reform.

By two other reforms Stein sought to realize his ideas more successfully. A new mode of organization of the civil service was to do away with the provincial fragmentation by centralization and subject specialization. So he set up, as the king's supreme organ, a government which—following the model of French constitutionalism—was composed of department ministers for interior, finance, justice, foreign affairs and war. The territory of the state was subdivided into provinces, and they in turn into government districts and counties, with their administrative organs structured accordingly. This reorganization of the state administration was ratified on 24 November 1808 by royal decree. Being a declared opponent to bureaucracy and the omnipotence of the state, Stein hoped to be able to supplement the administrative setup by populist counterweights. The civil service on all levels was to be complemented by corporate assemblies and communal self-administrations.

Only in the towns could this principle be enforced. Thus far the towns, the major tax sources, had been under the administration of the feudal state—the tax council and the garrison commander exercising their authority over the citizenry. But local self-government was introduced by the "Decree for All Towns of the Prussian Monarchy" of 19 November 1808. On the principle that a free community must be the basic form of political freedom in the state, municipalities were granted autonomy in matters of budget and taxation, welfare, church, school and health affairs. These legal requirements gave rise to a wealth of antifeudal innovations, such as the voting right for forming municipal assemblies and city administrations. The municipal order took over elements of the French municipal constitution—which therefore became Stein's most prominent borrowing from the French Revolution. In granting Prussia's bourgeois classes a communal policy under their own responsibility, it subsequently strengthened patriotic consciousness considerably.

Military affairs constituted a fourth field of reform. After the peace treaty the king charged a reorganization commission with the task to rebuild the smashed army. Its chairman became Maj Gen Gerhard Johann David von Scharnhorst, who had deduced the need for an army reform from the victories of the French Revolution and its hero Napoleon. Its central task was to place the people under arms on the basis of general conscription. That meant no less than a complete transformation of military affairs from Frederick's feudal army of bought mercenaries and drafted peasants into

an army of free bourgeois soldiers with all the innovations in army organization, war strategy and combat tactics. In the struggle for this conception which likewise had to be fought for against the obstruction by the reactionary nobility, Scharnhorst was joined by the equal-minded officers Neidhardt von Gneisenau, Hermann von Boyen, Karl von Grolman and Carl von Clausewitz. As the chief minister of state Stein took part in the deliberations and decisions of the military commission.

Although the king and the nobility opposed the introduction of general conscription, they had to approve the abolition of recruiting mercenaries, whereby the principle won that only Prussian citizens should henceforth be allowed to serve in the army. That created an innovation which, together with the other reforms, blew up Frederick's military system. For the October Edict implied two other consequences in military policy: first, the Prussian soldier, no longer either serf or mercenary, had to be considered a legally free person—which caused the abolition of the dishonorable practice of running the gauntlet and other physical penalties. Secondly, with the nobility's losing its privilege over landed estates, it in principle also lost the privilege to occupy all the officers ranks—an educated citizen now had to be legally admitted to officers careers. These innovations were introduced on the 3rd and 6th of August 1808 by royal cabinet orders.

The army reformers who took over the organization and combat methods of the Napoleonic army, saw in the French Emperor the main actor of a military despotism forcing the European nations under his tutelage and with it, driving them into a permanent war against England. Thus, by the side of Stein, they pursued the goal to regain the independence of Prussia and of all other German lands by means of the reforms. Theodor von Schoen, Stein's associate, documented these intentions as follows: "We were absolutely unanimous about having to shake off the French yoke and gaining independence and about our state having to abandon its rotted institutions and make adequate arrangements for progress and reviving the nation." Against Napoleon's conception of bourgeois progress and national suppression it was precisely here in Prussia where the counter-conception arose of bourgeois progress plus national independence.

Stein's Ouster and Historic Legacy

In the spring of 1808 the people's uprising took place in Spain, and now the national wars of independence began which ultimately brought about the ominous defeat in Russia (1812) and the "Battle of the Nations" at Leipzig (1813) through which Napoleon's hegemonial system collapsed. Spain was the signal that encouraged the Prussian reform party to get set for an uprising in all of northern Germany. Stein, Scharnhorst and Gneisenau in August that year harassed their monarch to adopt the policy of national liberation.

The most capable of them now turned out to be Gneisenau, who formulated a national policy alternative in opposition to Napoleon's Rhine Confederation policy under alien rule. In a magnificent memorandum to the king he fought for a conception which sought the formation of a German bourgeois national state: "It is proper and nationally prudent at one to give the peoples a fatherland if they are powerfully to defend a fatherland." That was the basic patriotic idea that grasped the connection between the social and the national question. By means of the bourgeois

reforms that had started, a "free constitution," a "more simply structured administration," a libertarian municipal setup and a new army organization were to come into force in Prussia, which also would make it desirable for other Germans to fight for the "liberation of their common fatherland" under Prussia's crown. This progressive objective was in line with an unequivocal rejection of any war of conquest. The national liberation struggle against Napoleon of France was to produce an international peace in which the nations could "prosper through their interdependence" and future wars be avoided.

Gneisenau's conception counted on a national uprising by vast popular masses under arms. Led by a nationally conscious and reform-minded prince, even revolutionary means were to be used ranging from a democratic solution of the land problem via the proclamation of a libertarian national constitution all the way to the overthrow of the prevailing Rhine Confederation dynasties. Ideas were effective here that stemmed from the experience in the French revolutionary period. They conformed with the objective tendency of the processes occurring in historic eras and intensified the confrontation between the class forces in Prussia. All reactionary nobility factions spotted in the upsurge of the patriotic movement the clear danger that the antifeudal measures of the reform party would become radical in case of a people's war of liberation. They concentrated their intrigues on the person of the chief minister of state and brought about events through which Stein's reform ministry was brought down: a bunch of letters, uncoded, ... in which Stein praised the Spanish people's struggle as a model for Germany and even gave details about preparations for the revolt in the Rhine Confederation states, was denounced to the French. They arrested the courier, found the compromising letters and sent them to Napoleon at once.

If King Frederick William III had been a monarch to have encouraged Stein and his reform circle as energetic exponents of his own state policy convictions as such, the Emperor's rage should not have intimidated him. Actually, however, he had only tolerated the reformers as a force he feared as much as he needed it so they would drag the state and the Hohenzollern dynasty out of the acute crisis. But now the contradiction split open between the king's interests, solely aimed at preserving his dynasty, and the bourgeois national consciousness of the reformers who wanted the liberation of the German people. Frederick William yielded to the demands from Napoleon and the reactionary in the Prussian nobility, had Stein submit his resignation and dismissed him from his office on 24 November 1806. Napoleon, declaring the reformer a personal enemy of France and of the Rhine Confederation, ordered him arrested. But Stein escaped into Austrian emigration. In 1812 he accepted an invitation from the headquarters of the Russian tsar where he, heading a committee for German affairs, also made a point of the pioneering deeds of Russo-German comradeship-in-arms in the struggle against Napoleon: the formation of the Russo-German legion, the signing of the famous Tauroggen Convention, the insurrectionist arming of the popular masses in East Prussia, and the signing of the Prussian-Russian treaty on the 1813 war of national liberation.

Stein's ouster and the isolation of many of his associates interrupted a reform project with goals far transcending the innovations already made. It was then up to Hardenberg and Scharnhorst to carry on the revolutionary change begun, a few years later. When Friedrich Engels later, looking at the totality of these reforms, spoke of a start of the "bourgeois revolution" in Prussia, he designated

the historic nerve center where the revolutionary development of capitalism ended in the lap of feudalism but the revolutionary qualitative change in Prussia's state and society began. The subsequent transition process that took circa six decades from the feudal to the capitalist order produced a bourgeois revolution starting with the liberal reforms (1807/13), the decisive battle of the epochal class struggles with the bourgeois-democratic national revolution (1848/49) and found its undemocratic conclusion with the "revolution from the top" (1866/71). The end cannot obscure the achievement of the beginning. Stein, Scharnhorst, Gneisenau and many other Prussian reformers were pioneers who objectively helped the bourgeois-democratic revolution of the German people to break through. Bismarck, on the other hand, fought for a "counterrevolutionary progress strategy" that was meant deliberately to prevent a recurring and, in that case, triumphant revolution of the popular masses. That is a differentiation that may be of service in paying tribute to the progressive heritage that entered into German history through the work of the Prussian reformers.

FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. Friedrich Engels, "Supplementary Preliminary Remarks of 1870 About the 'Peasant War in Germany,'" Marx/Engels, "Werke" (Works), Vol 18, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 513.
2. V. I. Lenin, "The Main Task of Our Days," "Werke," Vol 27, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1960, p 149.
3. The dialectics of Napoleonic warfare and the system of the continental blockade cannot be dealt with here in detail. Cf. Helmut Bock, "Reform and Revolution--Placing the Prussian Reform Ministry of Stein in the Center Between Progress and Reaction," MILITAERGESCHICHTE, No 5, 1980, pp 600-601.
4. Franz Mehring, "Prussia Restored," "Gesammelte Schriften" (Collected Writings), Vol 6, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1972, p 264.
5. Franz Mehring, "1807 to 1812--From Tilsit to Tauroggen," Ibid., p 176.
6. As the complicated process of Prussian farm legislation cannot be presented, we again refer to the text and literature references in Helmut Bock, op. cit., pp 605 ff.
7. V. I. Lenin, "The Agrarian Program of Social Democracy in the First Russian Revolution, 1905-1907," "Werke," Vol 13, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1963, p 236.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

NEW INTERDISCIPLINARY SERIES REVIEWED

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["Scientific Communism—Theory and Practice"—Review by Dr Rolf Reissig, deputy director, Institute for Scientific Communism, SED Academy of Social Sciences, of first four issues (titles follow) of new series published since 1980 by Dietz Verlag, East Berlin, at request of Council for Scientific Communism: "Die entwickelte sozialistische Gesellschaft—Ergebnis und Aufgabe des Kampfes der Arbeiterklasse" (The Developed Socialist Society—Result and Mission of the Struggle of the Workers Class); "Die Lebensfrage der Menschheit" (Humanity's Vital Question); "Der Internationalismus der Arbeiterklasse" (The Internationalism of the Workers Class); and "Wissenschaftlich-technischer, ökonomischer und sozialer Fortschritt im Sozialismus" (Scientific-Technical, Economic and Social Progress in Socialism)]

[Text] "Wissenschaftlicher Kommunismus" is the title of a new series published since 1980 by the Dietz publishing house in Berlin. At the request of the Council for Scientific Communism it is being published by a collective made up of scientists of the SED Academy of Social Sciences, Karl Marx University Leipzig, Humboldt University Berlin and Technical University Dresden. Four issues have thus far come out. In preparation are: "Zum Gegenstand und zur Methodologie des wissenschaftlichen Kommunismus" (On the Subject Matter and Methodology of Scientific Communism) and "Die Arbeiterklasse in der Welt von heute" (The Workers Class in the World of Today).

The series is interdisciplinary in design—which conforms to its purpose. Even in the issues thus far, economists, philosophers and historians joined authors in the scientific communism field. Continuing the cooperation with representatives of scientific communism in the Soviet Union, noted Soviet authors will also be published in this series. The editors address a wide circle of readers, propagandists, circle leaders, functionaries, teachers of basic Marxist-Leninist courses and, above all, the rapidly grown number lately of teachers and students in the field of scientific communism and the history and civics teachers. In treating particular, relatively self-contained subjects, on the basis of the college textbook "Wissenschaftlicher Kommunismus," which is a systematic work that includes the main fields in this discipline, the series aims to improve the level of theoretical research and the uniformity and efficacy of teaching. It wishes to contribute to the further development of research in scientific communism and to its further political, theoretical and methodological delineation as a component of Marxism-Leninism. More

deeply penetrating the real processes in social development, picking up newly ripened issues, extending the empirical base, more accurate knowledge and systematic absorption of the results of the science disciplines that are closely aligned with scientific communism, and a target-directed search for advances in knowledge—these are the decisive interconnecting links for scientific communism to meet its higher requirements.

The basic substantive requirement is derived from the 10th SED Congress documents, the central research plan for the Marxist-Leninist social sciences in the GDR, 1981-1985, and the research plan of the Council for Scientific Communism that is based on it. In its long-term conception and proposed topics up to 1985, publications on the basic theoretical and practical questions in the continued shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR under the changed conditions of the 1980's have first priority.

In preparation are studies on socialism as the real humanism in our era; the further development of the political organization of socialism; the political leadership and management of social processes in the process of the shaping of the developed socialist society; the relationship between individual and society in socialism; and the relations between social conditions and the development of the socialist way of life. We are looking for answers to questions like these: Which are the crucial inevitabilities and impulses for the further shaping of the developed socialist society and how can they be made still more effective under party leadership? Wherein lies the interaction between the internal development of socialism and the international class conflict in the 1980's? What tasks and consequences result for the further development and perfecting of socialist democracy? Which long-range effects does intensively expanded reproduction have on shaping the working people's condition of living and way of life?

Another major subject area lies in the contributions to research into the inevitabilities of the revolutionary world process and its chief currents under the changed conditions of the international class conflict, and into the struggle for consolidating the unity and cohesiveness of the communist world movement and its practical and theoretical effect in the struggle against imperialism and for peace, democracy and social progress. Much attention is warranted here to the creative application and further extension of the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and an effective and convincing confrontation with misrepresentations and distortions in this field. One project, scheduled for 1982, for instance, will deal with how and by which means real socialism affects the further change of the international power ratio, and what model effects are derived from it today for the struggle by the broad popular masses in the nonsocialist world. Outstanding importance attaches to concretely working out the various consequences resulting from the fact that the struggle for peace and disarmament has become the cardinal issue of the international class struggle and the crucial condition for the progress of humanity.

A publication scheduled for 1984 will deal with the basic issues in the development of the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory today. This involves the following important practical and theoretical considerations which have not yet been dealt with much in the literature of our republic: What is the nature of the process that forms the sociopolitical prerequisites for anti-imperialist and socialist transformations in the nonsocialist world, and which consequences result from the

altered objective and subjective conditions for our struggle for the communists' struggling for unity of action in the workers class and broad democratic alliances? This also involves questions about the communists' strategy and tactics, the practical-political and theoretical relation between the revolutionary workers movement and the state and power issue, and about democracy and power concepts among the non-communist leftist and democratic forces in imperialism. That monograph will also pay attention to the connection between democratic reforms, the working people's struggle for antimonopoly transformations and the socialist revolution. Another publication is going to deal with the specific place of the national and social liberation movements within the revolutionary world process in the 1980's and the formation of revolutionary vanguard parties.

Deeper penetration of social practice and improving the theoretical level, quality and social efficacy of research, further elaborating our world-outlook of dialectical materialism and presenting it in its unity of scientific method and revolutionary spirit--these criteria, as set by the 10th party congress, are demands of the highest political rank for all involved in the series. Orienting all our further work on them is a decisive basis for helping clarify the inevitabilities on which our social development processes are based, militantly contending for Marxism-Leninism against any slanderous attacks from bourgeois, revisionist and ultra-leftist ideologues, and disseminating our tried and tested party policy in massive effectiveness and relevantly.

5885

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SUMMARIES OF OTHER MAJOR 'EINHEIT' ARTICLES

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 6, Jun 81 signed to press 13 May 81
'Resumes' addendum

Resolutely and With Firm Steps

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Manfred Banaschek, department chief, SED Central Committee; chief editor, EINHEIT; pp 515-524]

[Text] Tribute is paid, from the vantage points of the historic place this party congress occupies in the socialist revolution and of the political creativity of the Marxist-Leninist party, to the resolve by the 10th SED Congress to continue our general line, confirmed by life, even under more complicated conditions. Economic strategy as a scientific-theoretical achievement in creatively perfecting the socialist planned economy and the demands resulting from it for concretely organizing a great performance improvement and our mass-bound ideological work.

Combines in Struggle for Implementation of 10th SED Congress' Economic Strategy

[Summary of article by Guenter Mittag, SED Politburo member and Central Committee secretary for economic affairs; pp 531-542. A translation of this article is published under the heading, "Mittag Urges Combines to Economize, Raise Production," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

[Text] Through the economic strategy issued at the 10th party congress, our party has a cohesive conception that conforms to the criteria of the 1980's. Its purposeful implementation in industry and construction, transportation and communication demands of the combines that they fully exercise their economic responsibility. Which experiences have the progressive combines gained and how can they be used for tapping great performance reserves? Growing importance to the struggle for higher effectiveness in the future attaches to a still better theoretical and practical control of reproduction theory.

Competition Aimed at Highest Efficiency

[Summary of article by Horst Heintze, social scientist, economist, member, SED Central Committee; Presidium member and National Executive Committee secretary in Free German Trade Union Federation (FDGB); pp 548-553]

[Text] New deeds of labor, far transcending all previous targets, are the working people's assured response to the 10th party congress resolutions. Under the new competition slogan they are struggling for performance improvements at new dimensions. Wherein is the variety of these initiatives found, and how are they aimed at continued intensification? How does one manage to combine the struggle for high achievements with the perfecting of working and living conditions? Initiative enterprises are presented with respect to this, and from what they have done inferences are drawn for conducting our competition.

Microelectronics in Our National Economy

[Summary of article by Gerhard Tautenhahn, member, department chief, SED Central Committee; pp 554-562. A translation of this article is published under the heading, "Economic Effects of Microelectronics Development Discussed," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

[Text] Based on a strategic conception by our party leadership, the GDR today has achieved efficient capacities in the field of microelectronics and, thus, good starting positions for further accelerating its development and application and reaching international top standards in selected areas. Which are the most important tasks in years ahead for employing microelectronics in their full breadth--while also, and particularly, rigorously developing and using robot technology--and for achieving through a purposeful management of the innovator processes an optimum economic benefit and social effects?

Topical Lessons From 22 June 1941

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Stefan Doernberg, director, Institute for International Relations, GDR Academy of Political Science and Jurisprudence; chairman, GDR Scientific Council for Foreign Policy Research; vice president, GDR Committee for European Security and Cooperation; pp 563-569]

[Text] Proceeding from the war aims by German imperialism against the Soviet Union, from the world historic victory over Hitler fascism, and from the fact that our people--in picking up the antifascist traditions in German history--has learned the lessons of 22 June 1941, the article shows that the importance and topical relevance of the lessons of that day are increasing with respect to the struggle against

war preparations and for peace and security in view of the confrontation course by the most aggressive forces of imperialism which are striving for military superiority and are seeking to undermine the influence of the peace offensive by the Soviet Union and its allies.

On the Ideological Work After the 10th Party Congress

[Summary of article by Dr Klaus Gaebler, member, SED Central Committee; chief, Propaganda Department, SED CC; pp 570-577]

[Text] With the SED Central Committee report to the 10th party congress we possess the scientific concept for coping with the challenges of the 1980's, for the sake of implementing our general line, which is aimed at the well-being of the people and the safeguarding of peace. The most important concern of our ideological work is to familiarize the communists, the working class and all the people with the great theoretical-ideological wealth of ideas of the 10th party congress and to mobilize them toward strengthening socialism, mainly through actively and consciously coping with our economic performance improvements, and for the struggle against imperialism and the dangers emanating from it.

Bulgarian Communists Plot Course for 1980's

[Summary of article by Dieter Grehl, staff employee, SED Central Committee; pp 601-607]

[Text] Despite more complicated international conditions, the last decade became a fruitful developmental phase in the history of socialist Bulgaria. Proceeding from such a positive balance-sheet, the 12th BCP Congress, in the sense of the policy of Dimitur Blagoev's and Giorgi Dimitrov's party, which aims at the well-being of the people and at peace, has issued the tasks for the continued construction of the developed socialist society in Bulgaria for the 1980's.

World of Capitalism in Crisis

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Hans-Joachim Hoehme, economist, deputy director, main department, GDR Institute for International Politics and Economics; pp 608-615]

[Text] After the 1974/75 crisis, which marked a caesura in the development of the capitalist world economy and, due to being intertwined with manifestations of the general crisis effective long range, reversed itself but slowly, the imperialist countries have once again landed in another cyclical crisis, which is analyzed in the present contribution. Its social effects will be the most serious since the 1930's. The more long range contradictions and disproportions coming with it will harm capitalist economic development far beyond the effects of a cyclical crisis phase.

DIRECTOR OF ACADEMY INSTITUTE OF SOCIOLOGY INTERVIEWED

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 4 Aug 81 p 4

[Interview with Kalman Kulcsar, director of the MTA (Hungarian Academy of Sciences) Institute of Sociology, by Denes Kovacs: "The Scientific Mirror of Society"]

[Text] Sociology is among the newer social science disciplines. The activity of the Academy's Institute of Sociology has become consolidated after several years of searching for the right path—as a result of debates, often sharp ones, related to sociology—and has become the center of domestic sociological research which has trained a whole line of young sociologists. Its research as well as its researchers have earned international reputation. It not only participates in internationally coordinated programs but also directs some of these. We talked with Kalman Kulcsar, the Academy's corresponding member and the Institute's director, about the results and problems of their work in the recent years, and about the tasks ahead.

[Question] Evaluation has recently been completed in the Institute. What is your opinion about the successes and shortcomings of the work done in the last 5 years?

[Answer] Our prime efforts in the last plan period were aimed at concentrating our research work on truly the most important tasks, and helping to satisfy the domestic social needs by the questions we pose, as well as by the results of our studies. I can say in general terms that the Institute's work satisfies these requirements at least for the most part, and that our researchers have achieved many results some of which are also suitable for practical application, by discovering quite a few phenomena in our society, not to mention the internationally recognized theoretical and methodological results of our research. Our studies have significantly contributed to being able to form a picture about the fundamental processes of Hungarian society, about the most important interrelationships of the class- and strata phenomena, about the nature and roots of some of the social problems, and about the conditions, limitations and opportunities of consciously shaping our society. This is so even if we ourselves are most familiar with the difficulties and shortcomings of our research work.

Our activity is closely connected to some of the main directions of long range research plans, such as the efforts aimed at laying the foundations for improving the government, researching the questions of the socialist enterprises, evaluating the

economic and social demands related to the public education system, research projects related to the economic policy, and the studies examining the various social conditions and consequences of scientific and technological development. Medium-range research projects such as, for example, examining the class- and stratum structure of today's Hungarian society, and the changes in the socialist way of life, also tied down significant portions of the Institute's resources; these projects were initiated by the party's appropriate organs.

[Question] These seven topics you listed--it seems--contradict the requirement of concentration in the case of an institute in which fewer than 40 scientific researchers are working.

[Answer] Obviously, not only our institute is working on the topics mentioned, but a whole series of research facilities and researchers in close cooperation with each other and this also satisfies the requirement of being interdisciplinary. We--as the basic institution--have special roles in two topics: in researching the social interrelationships of technological progress, and in researching lifestyles. This means that in these two areas the institute organizes and coordinates the investigations conducted at various locations. However, it is one of the shortcomings of topic specialization that these fields of research include very broad areas, and thus each institute developed the areas of concentration it deems most important. Nowadays, when the interest in sociology includes that the cooperation of sociologists is requested more and more in the most diverse research topics--and not only in ones dealing with the social sciences--, it is harder and harder for our institute to concentrate the research projects. But there are not enough trained sociologists in the country for these requirements, and therefore this "pressure" can also be felt in the institute's work. But in spite of all this I must say that in comparison with earlier years we have made progress in specialization, thanks in part to the fact that we have greatly decreased the number of investigations the institute may initiate, and on the other hand we have attempted to organize our research projects in such a way that our findings could be utilized in several areas of research.

[Question] The improper utilization of social science findings and thus also of sociological research, is a constantly recurring problem in our scientific life. How do you see the difficulties existing in this area?

[Answer] The results produced by our institute take shape mostly in research reports, and in various publications and studies; that is, their use itself depends very little on us. But there is also a good example for direct use: in making preparations for the party's 12th congress, the results of our research on lifestyle were used in the congressional documents. But the conclusions drawn from facts we discovered can be recognized also in some important socio-political decisions: one such case is, for example, is the consolidation of the industrial branch ministries, and the concepts of long range planning.

However, the way the results are received can be disturbed by several circumstances. I will mention just two of these: in practical applications people often define the needs too generally, and the concretization by the institute, and later the results thus obtained may be directed at something else. Or: acceptance of the results is especially difficult if the research findings draw attention to negative social phenomena, or if they confront deeply rooted views which reality has already passed by. In any case, we also consider it a recognition of our work that recently the

Council of Ministers assigned us the job of working out the overall—unified—social policy concept.

[Question] Among the institute's areas of research listed earlier, one of the areas generating the most interest is the study of the lifestyles and the basic characteristics in socialist Hungary. What are the most important conclusions defined on the basis of this research?

[Answer] I must note here also that under the direction of our institute, in addition to our workers, several other institutes of the academy and other institutes, and many other researchers also participated in this study. The research work started out with two goals: on the one hand we wanted to provide a comprehensive picture of the way of life in today's Hungarian society, and on the other hand [we wanted to provide a comprehensive picture] about the place and role of those factors which influence and determine how style develops. We summarized the results obtained in both areas in a final report, and by using and analyzing the various data sources, new data collections and other documents we were finally able to show how Hungarian society lived in the second half of the 1970's. The research exposed, and the report did not circumvent the contradictions experienced in our society today, such as, for example, the one which exists between the ideal lifestyle which has developed and the demands that have arisen on the basis of it, on the one hand, and on the other hand, the opportunities corresponding to the level of development of the production forces. One aspect of this is that for significant groups in our society, it is not yet possible at the present time to fulfill the demands generated by the ideal lifestyle which corresponds to the accepted system of social values with the earnings paid for work done within the regular working hours and under regular employment circumstances. The contradictions are smaller in the various component areas of lifestyles, for example, in food consumption, and in the supply of durable consumer goods; however, the difficulties in obtaining separate apartments, or the deficient supply of health care hinder the consolidation and dissemination of certain characteristics of socialist life. The research has also pointed out that the shortcomings which exist in some areas also have an effect on the development of lifestyle as a whole, and this unfavorably influences the public sentiment, and causes some groups in society to behave in a manner contrary to the socialist standards.

[Question] How successful will we be in applying what we have learned from the experience of recent years to research plans begun this year of the Sixth Five-Year Plan period. How will our tasks change in the coming years?

[Answer] The character of our activity and the main areas of our research work will not change significantly in the future. But we will exert greater efforts to further concentrate our work and to make better use of our modest resources. In accordance with this we placed the research of such topics on our agenda for the 1981-1985 plan period based on previous research and which are included in the long range national research plans, and also such topics where the political and national government considers research an urgent and timely task. In this manner we will continue to participate in the comprehensive scientific study of improving public administration, or more precisely: within this we will conduct mainly organizational studies—the main goal of which is to research the interrelationships and reasons for the various bureaucratic phenomena—, and we will also study the effectiveness of statutory provisions.

We will continue our research into lifestyle, with particular attention to the effects of the economic changes which took place in the second half of the 1970's had on the way of life. For the most part, the selected topics have special significance in the development of lifestyle as a whole. For example, the study of health care services, or the research into lifestyles of those disadvantaged in more than one respect; we will also continue to deal with the effect housing areas have on lifestyle. Especially important is the investigation program I mentioned before, with the goal of developing a comprehensive socio-political concept and to clarify the principles related to this, as well as working out the organizational conditions. In addition to this, the new research assignment for which we laid the foundations in several respects in recent years is very important because it serves to examine the adaptive and innovative capabilities of our society and to discover the social factors which affect the community. This research work views the factors which appear on the levels of the individual consciousness, the organization and the aegis, the "macro-structure" of society, paying particular attention to their interrelationships.

In summary: I have emphasized several times that new requirements and conditions are appearing in the development of our society, factors which cannot be ignored and which must be taken into consideration in making decisions. We try to thoroughly familiarize ourselves with them, and we must consider that in a given case our analyses may question some other scientific findings or also obsolete ideological viewpoints. Only in this way can we achieve those scientific findings which can expose the phenomena of changes in our society's basic processes. Thus with the methods and tools of sociology we can more effectively promote scientifically founded concrete social, political and economic decisions.

8584

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ROMANIA

DIFFERENT VERSIONS OF REPORT OF WRITERS UNION COUNCIL. PUBLISHED

Party Press Version

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 2 Jul 81 p 2

[Abridged text of the Report of the Writers Union Council]

[Text] Appreciating right from the very beginning that the writers of the country benefit from the general climate of democratization of our society, in the report it stressed that the decisive political event that marked the period being analyzed, May 1977 to the present, and that will serve as the sign for the years to come, was the 12th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party. Of great significance for the lives of all our people, the report said, the congress also shaped the future of our culture, and implicitly of literature. Through the decisive contribution of comrade secretary general Nicolae Ceausescu, the congress also opened for the people working in culture and art a new stage in the process of creative work and in defining their role in the life of the nation. Together with all the people, the writers have firmly expressed their adherence to the Romanian Communist Party's Program for the revolutionary transformation of our society.

The socialist concept of humanism stands at the basis of all political, social and cultural actions. As a well-defined idea it also acquired the idea of socialist democracy as an expression of participation and involvement in the history of all the people. The path from idea to practice is, naturally, a path of contradictions and permanent clashes between the old and new, and is the path of creating a better, wiser, more sincere man devoted to fellow man. This is the path endorsed by the party's program.

There is no doubt that the statements in the conference's Theses and in the Program for the Development of Literature, as pointed out in the report, are also the very principles that have guided us and will guide from now on in our activities. From their point of view, we will review certain characteristic aspects of Romanian literature today.

Numerous contemporary writings have deeply penetrated public awareness. Many of their writers can today be proud of having produced a well-done work that has a distinct nature and forms the object of a variety of critical analyses, that

are themselves sought out and appreciated. A strong group of talented young people have come to strengthen the ranks of the writers. A good portion of the books written in past years is studied in schools and universities and instills in the young people respect for work, the truth and right, for culture, socialist patriotism and the high ideals of communism.

The report stressed that this fact is the result of the new, favorable climate created by the literary works of the party, especially after the Ninth Congress, releasing so much spiritual energy.

Emphasizing that truly up-to-date literature reveals still insufficiently explored aspects of reality, illuminates new situations in social and individual existence and points out the problems that are truly interesting to the people, the report continued that the effective current nature of our writings is verified precisely through their ability to be of precious assistance to the party in this direction. One cannot reveal the contradictions of life and one cannot usefully militate through literature, that is, through art, for their resolution without a high and generous ideal. The revolutionary spirit of literature is directly tied to the commitment for the cause of the revolution and for the carrying out of communism, of the ages-long hopes of humanity for a better and more just world and of a militant artistic attitude.

Prose, the report pointed out, recorded important successes in past years, and is on a full and solid upswing. Clear proof can be seen in our historical prose, that is prose conceived and conducted on historical themes and the great events of the social and national liberation struggle. There is hardly an unimportant stage of this tragic and heroic accomplishment that has not found its way in past years into artistic versions. In our books, stories, novels and plays, the current nature of the themes and immediate structure and the efforts of the majority building socialist values are represented more and more substantially and significantly on the thematic, conceptual and artistic level.

As in other types of works, the report noted, in poetry there have been new elements, significant changes, deeper and richer activities during the last 4 to 5 years. At the end of this decade, we assisted in the appearance of certain poetic works of great significance written both by certain authors with a broad activity and by others with a mature background in poetry. A fact that should be remembered is also the appearance and molding of a new promotion of poets. Pausing upon the themes and means of expression in poetry, the report noted at the same time that love for the country is a noble and profound sentiment in poetry as well as in life, serving as an endless and rich source of inspiration for poets. Valuable patriotic poetry must be promoted with all our energies.

In the context of developing all of literature, the report continued to say, dramaturgy recorded a powerful problematical extension and an increase in modern expression. Man's thoughts are today presented in new plays with a remarkable

philosophical sense. Historical drama has had new achievements stimulated by the happy circumstances in the life of the nation, achievements which illuminate ordinary events and people from the perspective of the present and the sentiments of the present. In recent years, there has been an assertion of the category of political theater. There has been a diversification of dramaturgical forms, from chamber pieces to a social fresco, from ironic comedies to political pamphlets, from monodramas to ontological tragedies. Through the contributions of the writers from all the generations, of all nationalities and from all over the country and through the public's massive following and the new interest of the publishing houses, art institutions and specialized critics, we can state that our national dramaturgy is living a remarkable creative moment.

The report then referred to the literature for children and young people, which has in recent years experienced a clear increase in quality and its varieties in the direction of thematic areas and the most diverse age groups. Currently, a literary area is being formed worthy not only of the interest of the over five million young readers, but also of those of a specialized literary opinion. The interest for scientific research and the effect of this research have massively influenced the writings aimed at the younger generations.

Then referring to the translations of literature by other peoples, the report mentioned that the number of special successes in the field of translation regarding poetry, prose and drama is extremely great. Recently, fundamental critical and essay works have come to complete this imposing review, contributing to the process of raising the cultural level of the Romanian reader and giving him the opportunity to acquire high cultural values, a phenomenon characteristic of the complex formative process of socialist humanism. In the spirit of our party's policy, the translations tend to involve the entire map of world culture. We are interested in the cultures from every continent and we can state with satisfaction that we have brought into our culture the works of numerous worthy authors from Asia, Africa and Latin America.

In discussing the value criterion that must stand in the center of our writers' attention, the report said that through several imposing contemporary works our literature has attained an esthetically high level and everything that will be done from now on will naturally take these new high points into consideration. Unfortunately, there is still publication of poor literature, stories of irrelevant facts, commonplace findings in prose or compositions lacking emotion in poetry.

The free exercise of criticism, the report pointed out, and the confrontation of different evaluations permit readers to form their own opinions that are as close to the truth as possible and ease the triumph of literature. The important idea here is the responsibility in criticizing writings without any concessions to the interests that oppose the progress of our literary, political and social affairs. Our criticism must be, to a greater degree, present in the ideological-esthetic disputes of the contemporary world, promptly and argumentatively taking

positions against those concepts that tend to separate art from humanist ideals and to propagate social obscurantism and indifferentism. Through this combative statement on the field of the great confrontations of ideas, our criticism has the opportunity to contribute to the spread of the humanist message in Romanian culture beyond our borders.

During these years, there has also been an imposing development of the historiography and literary theory sectors. It is necessary to recognize the growth in the professional scientific competence in this field. Beginning with the theories of materialist historical esthetics and with the recommendations of the party documents regarding the criteria for the critical use of our literary legacy and amply and usefully combining the traditional methodologies with the modern ones, literary historiography has succeeded in creating valuable works that have resolved questions of great national scientific interest in a relatively short period of time.

The fate of the Romanian language is naturally in the hands of the writers, more than anyone else, feeling in a certain way responsible for its destiny. We writers have the duty to work, through our writings, for the development and improvement of the Romanian language, just as we have the duty of protecting it. This task was left to us by our great predecessors and moves us to create our books, promote our culture and love our country.

A distinct place in the report was held by the literature of the coinhabiting nationalities (Hungarians, Germans, Serbs, Ukrainians and in Yiddish). The evolution in recent years attests to the furthering of the effort to reflect the social-political life in our country, the common homeland, where the unrestricted affirmation of values contributes to the strengthening of fraternal feelings through spiritual closeness and mutual understanding and esteem.

In reviewing the different activities of the Writers Union during the period analyzed, the report stated that one of the fields in which there was a clearer expression of the tendency towards acquiring a new quality was that of communicating with all the categories of workers, communication achieved in the most varied forms with an unprecedented scope and a substantial increase in efficiency. The source of this welcomed upswing is found in the initiative of affirming the revolutionary humanism in our socialist culture for the current stage, an initiative representative of the profoundly original thinking of the secretary general of the party, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, and expressed in the establishment of the National Festival of Work and Creativity "The Song of Romania."

The union council and bureau stimulated and sustained the participation of the writers in cultural affairs in factories, schools, cultural centers from the cities to the villages. Meetings with readers, under their different forms - literary clubs, symposia, discussions about their own books and conferences and discussions regarding literature and the process of literary creation - in response

to the urgings of the party leadership there were hundreds of writers taking part, totalled over 3,000 during the 1977-1981 period, involving over 9,000 writers presentations and over 500,000 lovers of literature. One especially significant form of integrating the writers into cultural activities is giving the writers union and associations the mission to provide competent and unified guidance for literary circles and clubs.

Our union's council and bureau tasked the operational group and the "Cartea romaneasca" [Romanian Book] publishing house to complete and publish anthologies containing proofs of the writers' attachment to the party's policies. Thus, in a relatively short period of time the following works appeared: "Presedintele tarii - omagiul scriitorilor din Romania" [The President of the Country - A Tribute from the Writers in Romania], "Izvoare nesecate" [Never-ending Springs] - in which the poets pay tribute to the liberation of the country, "Perspective comuniste" [Communist Perspectives] the writers' pledge for the 12th Romanian Communist Party Congress and "The Romanian Communist Party - 60th Jubilee."

In the 4 years to which we are referring, the work of the elected organs was led in a collective and democratic spirit. There was an effort to achieve a democratic climate of high principles, collegiality and respect. As was pointed out in the Theses of the National Conference, in literary affairs disputes appeared that were generated, naturally, by different artistic views and by sometimes divergent critiques of published books and trends stemming from creative work. But, there was no useful contribution to literature made by unprincipled expressions, intolerant criticism, personal squabbles and slanderous campaigns against certain members of our group.

Numerous times and even in today's message, the secretary general of the party, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, pointed out that the writers in our country, the members of the Writers Union must unite their forces in order to produce the great literature worthy of the times in which we are living. Disagreements have no place on the literary front in socialist Romania, a front where principled relations, collegial relations of mutual respect must provide the atmosphere we need both to produce our works and to ensure a worthy place for the creators of literature to hold in our socialist society. At a time when all the Romanian people are closing ranks around the Romanian Communist Party, its leadership and the secretary general, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the writers in our country cannot but unite their forces.

According to the directives issued by the party leadership and in the spirit of substantially democratizing our literary affairs in order to discuss the problems of creative work and to reveal certain concepts and trends stemming from a clash of opinions, conferences were instituted by type of literary work. Thus, there were conferences on critiques, dramaturgy, poetry, children's literature, translations and universal literature.

An area of great significance in the activities of our union's council and bureau, the report went on to point out, is the guidance and the analysis of the activities of the literary publications and the "Cartea romaneasca" publishing house. In the union's publications, in the central and local press and on radio and television, writers were continually present through poems, prose, articles and essays which showed their full involvement in public affairs.

Pausing upon some of the problems related to the editorial process, problems discussed in meetings organized with the directors of the publishing houses, as well as in working conferences organized with the secretaries of the writers, associations in Sibiu and Bucharest, the report stressed the need to improve the system for establishing the size of the printing run and to resolve other problems related to the editing of books.

In the area of international relations, the activities of the Writers Union in foreign affairs was directly on a priority basis towards achieving certain priority objectives: broadening the writers' areas of contact with organizations, cultural institutions and persons in this field and with publications in the socialist countries and in the other countries of the world for the purpose of a more active exchange of spiritual values; propagating and distributing Romanian cultural and literary values in order to contribute to an ever larger understanding and appreciation of the achievements made in this field by socialist Romania; and, easing contacts between Romanian writers and those from abroad.

At the same time, the Writers Union carried out a sustained activity to propagate, distribute and translate Romanian literature into foreign languages. Special issues were produced of certain foreign magazines devoted to the most important problems of our contemporary literature, and volumes of Romanian poetry and prose were published in popular languages.

In the report it was pointed out that, in a material sense, all the actions of the Writers Union were supported from the incomes earned through the work of the writers and through literary activities, in the spirit of the principles of self-management and self-administration.

Under discussion in our conference was the "Program for the Development of Literature in Romania During the Next Four Years." In this program, it points out that the Writers Union, its working organs and organisms and all the writers will dedicate their energies in the future to carrying out the party's policies in the field of art and in culture in general, filling and ever more active role in resolving all the problems facing them, in stimulating the writers to deal with the great themes of creative work and in urging fruitful discussions capable of contributing to the real progress of contemporary Romanian literature. It is necessary for the Writers Union to pursue and more closely guide the

activities of the publications that they produce, permanently ensuring a climate appropriate for fruitful work and giving the necessary importance to the sector dealing with criticism and to the discussion that are carried out and their ideological orientation, objectivity and principled integrity. The Writers Union also has significant obligations with regards to the political and professional training of young writers and the development of these writers in the spirit of socialist ethics and equality.

Through all their works, the writers understand how to contribute to the education of all the people in the spirit of humanism and patriotism and limitless love for the country in which we were born and in which we work and live. This represents a lofty duty of patriotic and revolutionary awareness for us and all writers to respond to the country's and communist party's call through an activity at the peak of the era in which we are living and through works that reflect the beauty and inner richness of these people, people involved in the uninterrupted raising of the level of material and spiritual civilization of the people. Under the sign of this responsibility and beauty, we will unite our forces in order to serve the socialist present and the communist future of Romania.

Writers Union Weekly Version

Bucharest LUCEAFARUL in Romanian 4 Jul 81 p 2

[Abridged text of the Report of the Writers Union Council]

[Text.] Pointing out that the decisive political event marking the period that has passed since the last National Writers Conference is the 12th Congress of the Romanian Communist Part, the Report began by emphasizing that together with all the people the writers firmly expressed their adhesion to the Romanian Communist Party Program for the revolutionary transformation of our society.

At the last National Writers Conference, the Report pointed out, in his speech comrade secretary general Nicolae Ceausescu stated: "The party, state and people are waging a consistent and decisive struggle for the continued improvement of all the facets of economic and social life. Art and literary creative work must accurately represent this struggle of the people in order to overcome shortcomings and contribute to their elimination. Criticizing and uncovering shortcomings and combating the elements of the old that might still be encountered in different areas of society and in the people's awareness, literature must express itself, by using its specific means, as an active factor in the struggle against all negative phenomena. It is necessary, however, for us to be careful in this field, like in all fields, that because of deadwood we will not see the great and healthy forests and how our country develops and prospers."

From the perspective of this balanced view, we can conduct a review with a deep analytical spirit and a feeling of self-criticism of our work at the writing desk and of the state of the Union and the entire complex of circumstances that lead to the writing of books, the publication and then their movement into the public awareness.

Contemporary Romanian literature, the Report said, has won its superior status today effectively and intensely stating the current situation. This is a notion that the fruitful experience of the past years asks us to conduct a thorough amount of thinking.

Is it perhaps just the fact that it appeared during these years, or does the simple fact of being the place of action during the last decades give a book its current relevancy? Absolutely, no!

Authentic current relevancy is a much more complex quality. It involves laying out the deep implications of the era in the intimate existence of individuals and the observation of the unmistakable manner in which current historical, social and moral circumstances are influencing people and even changing their mentality, behavior and language.

And, the writings inspired in the past have awakened a lively, non-archivistic interest, in cases where it has proven to be of current relevancy, through an original, contemporary approach in contemplating history.

Genuine current relevancy belongs to a distinct problem type. Simple views of current life say too little as long as they are not illuminated by a reflection capable of making sense precisely of our meaningful human experience. Contemporary literature worthy of this name explores those areas where the specific problems of the era spring forth. It fulfills an irreplaceable civic task, showing with the great revealing power of art the deeds, behaviors and phenomena upon which society must focus its attention. Valuable, truly militant literature for the cause of improving socialist construction and building communism is not thanked for illustrating known things and for repeating in an imaginary form, no matter how shining the work may be, that which has been said in a theoretical form countless times and more precisely, more exactly.

Literature that truly has current relevancy uncovers aspects of still insufficiently researched reality, illuminates the new situations of social and individual existence, or, in a word, brings up those problems that people are truly interested in.

True current relevancy is the breath of the man who does not want to fall into a fixed type of writing, since he has endless variety in life itself. His identity with the world and our times gives him the fact that he is a constitutive part of this, and at the same time the author and his work and the problems of contemporary life closely and permanently involve him.

The manner in which this man, as an expression of the affirmation of a superior human personality, becomes a literary personage serves as the source for several imperatives of the contemporary literary effort and the literature that is today being written in Romania. First, it must be observed that the man of whom we are speaking is developed in time and space and lives during a certain moment of historical events and in a certain place in the world. He belongs to a grouping that exists for its part in spatial and temporal coordinates. He is part of a history and he has a country. He thus has roots that fix him within a certain framework and a generator of characteristic spiritual expressions. And, if the literature that we write wants to remain faithful to its fundamental realism, it cannot do this except by reflecting in many ways this necessary relationship.

The living presence of the patriotic sentiment in important lyrical poetry, along the lines of a great and consistent literary tradition from Mihai Eminescu, Tudor Arghezi, Lucian Blaga and Octavian Goga, is the result of the same natural roots of the true man in the world to which, through destiny, he belongs. Its common cause is in deep levels and it keeps in mind history, ethos, language and traditions in culture and civilization, with all this decisively working in our structure as individuals in our way of viewing and understanding the process of life. Since patriotism cannot be merely an experience mastered through the frequency of certain symbols that transmit externally the idea of country and national awareness, but rather is an internal calling and an intimate feeling pumped into our being through the fact of belonging to the world in which we live and to the people whose sons we are. Patriotism is defined by that which we have deeply and lastingly imbedded in us, since it expresses our identification with the ideals and beliefs that involve us not just as casual individuals, but also as the conveyors of a message of spirituality of a long-term value. Certainly, the past, the relationship to great moments and history in the major sense are naturally a presence in this sphere, but we must speak thoroughly about broadening the perspective, about the need to incorporate new elements and about what we could call the socialist dimension of patriotism. Living here and now, we adhere to the values of the present, and we are taking part in the building of a world that is ours and fully expresses us. Much has been done in our literature in recent years - in novels, poetry and theatrical plays - to put to use the significance of the past and to reveal those dimensions that place us in the perspective of a rich continuity. The fields of the present, however, have remained less explored, especially those elements of living that have the power to contribute proofs about patriotism as a current experience in a socialist country.

Further, the Report uncovered some characteristic traits of literary development during the recent period.

In years past, prose recorded important successes, and is now on a full and solid upswing.

One clear evidence is our historical prose, that is, the literature conceived and written on historical themes about the great events of the social and national liberation struggle. There is hardly an unimportant stage of this tragic and heroic accomplishment that has not found its way in past years into artistic versions and views capable of constituting a "parallel history" of artistic essence.

A good understanding is the foundation of remembering. At the basis of both, the prose of the previous years made a valuable contribution. Proof can be seen in the interest with which the readers have greeted these attempts to scrutinize the path travelled by our people, in a relation where "the truth of art" has precisely proven to be a reverse success for "the truth of life."

It is no less true that our prose is still clearly recognizing its duties, especially with regards to the closest segments of this same "contemporary history," those from which the present is created and through which the future is made. But, it would be wrong if we did not show the successes obtained by our prose writers in this important sector.

In our books, stories, novels and plays, the current nature of the themes and immediate structure and the efforts of the majority building socialist values are represented more and more substantially and significantly on the thematic, conceptual and artistic level. It is a phenomenon that is occurring under our eyes and it must be sustained by all means.

With regards to those forms, techniques and styles that the prose of recent years has promoted, we can note with satisfaction the presence of a great variety. This variety of forms and styles represents a significant advance for all our recent literature. It can be easily recognized in the "art of the Romanian prose writer," an art capable of proving the validity of the most diverse osmoses between real and ideal, common and exceptional, daily and fantastic, lucid and romantic, dry and visionary. And, what is worthy of being shown, in the realm of certain esthetic compatibilities, remains the opportunity for all these forms and formulas, styles and types - ultimately diversified in so many ways that personalities explore them and use them - to be saturated with a political, social and philosophical substance capable of giving them socialist unity and Romanian uniqueness. The lively interest of so many readers for the "true stories" which our writers are capable of writing requires a constantly larger awareness and responsibility. Literature that is constantly confronted by a public so interested and exacting finds it appropriate to fully respect and to honor their attitude with greater and greater books.

As in other types of works, in poetry there have been new elements, significant changes and deeper and richer activities during the last 4 to 5 years. Certainly, such a short period cannot make claim to be characterized as a stage in the process of a so-called artistic renewal. And, nonetheless, the end of the eighth

decade coincided with several important phenomena within the makeup of current Romanian poetry and was left to outline a corner of the future lyrical poetry picture.

Any attempt, even if it is tentative, to characterize the current moment of literature, and therefore, also for poetry, must keep in mind before anything else the existence on the literary level of a natural and useful "collaboration" between generations. In literature, it is very natural for the voices of the poets from all the generations to meet on some common wavelengths. These wavelengths are the feelings of belonging to a spiritual space and to an historical era. There does not exist today in Romania a single true poet who can ignore our national roots and the ancient traditions of poetry in this corner of the world, for whom the country and the land does not represent a spiritual matter capable of giving him the security and pride to participate in an original, specific world. Nothing that is from this land of ours can be foreign to the poet. At the same time, all poets are aware of the giant revolutionary changes that our country has experienced since its liberation.

At the end of this decade, we took part in the appearance of certain poetic works of great significance written both by certain authors with a broad activity and by others with a mature background in poetry.

One fact that should be remembered is the appearance and shaping of a new promotion of poets. Whether this promotion will be considered by future literary history as a new generation or not is not too important in the review represented by this Report. But, the presence of young and very young talented authors cannot leave us indifferent.

Good poetry, like, we believe, that being written today in our country, is judged through the prism of two main elements: the major nature of the concern and theme and the variety of the means, combining the courage for the new with a thorough understanding of local and universal traditions. With regards to the first element, it must be said that only a poetry capable of reflecting the profound and complete spirituality of man - man as such, but also man from these lands - meets the passing of time. Poetry in our country appears to us to be such a mirror. This fact does not mean the encouragement of a discrimination of the type which, fortunately during a now-dead era, divided the subjects of poetry into two categories: an appropriate one where the poets were given motives, regulations and even the expressions that their poetry had to keep in mind, while in the other one other motives, regulations and expressions were excluded. We state that love for country is a noble and profound sentiment in poetry as well as in life, serving as an endless and rich source of inspiration for poets. Valuable patriotic poetry must be promoted with all our energies. If today no one denies, in contrast to the years of dogmatism, that poetry about love, elegy, eclogue or idyll is a variety just as legitimate as a hymn and an ode, it is no less true that we could sometimes find certain tendencies to disregard one type or another and to renounce quality.

In the context of developing all of literature, dramaturgy recorded a powerful problematization and an increase in modern expression. In a general way, factology and illustrativism were mastered and successes were obtained in dealing with current activities through means of broad generalization. The thoughts of today's man are present in the new plays with a remarkable philosophic sense. Historical drama has had new achievements stimulated by the happy circumstances in the life of the nation, achievements which illuminate ordinary events and people from the perspective of the present and the sentiments of the present. In recent years, there has been an assertion of the category of political theater, putting into discussion the relationships of the individual with society, the problems of power and the relationships between social classes and parties in today's world in other countries, as well as trends of thought. Some plays, through impressive constructions, express the Romanian point of view on certain moments of world history.

Significant achievements were made in summing up the current state of morale and the complex phenomena which go into building the personality of man during our times. Also due to the continuing changes, even if they are relatively slow, in the new talent, some of whom come from other fields of writing, there has been a diversification of dramaturgical forms, from chamber pieces to a social fresco, from ironic comedies to political pamphlets, from monodramas to ontological tragedies. We can appreciate that through the contributions of the writers from all the generations, of all the nationalities and from all over the country and through the public's massive following and the new interest of the publishing houses, art institutions and specialized critics, national dramaturgy is living a remarkable creative moment.

In referring to the problems of literature for children and young people, the Report noted:

The children and young people of today are being formed within a renewed framework of existence. Their imagination is stimulated by other elements of life that, not too many years ago, did not exist because the changes in the environment are truly extraordinary. The exploration of space, satellite stations and space ships sent to far-off planets are realities in our times. The five year plan of the technical-scientific revolution has produced a certain ambience in which are children are growing up, and the means of audiovisual communications, right at their fingertips, puts them in direct contact with these amazing achievements. The interest in scientific advances and the effect of these advances on human relations have massively influenced the writings aimed at the new generations. In recent times, science fiction has gained great popularity and has taken all types of styles, from philosophical speculation to social satire, recording not just a few valuable works, including some awarded international recognition.

In the best works for children and young people, we abandoned old literary gimmicks and boring, childish plots that attempted to mime the children's language. The works that still use such "techniques" have not completely disappeared.

These should be continually discouraged, as well as cheap stories, shallow improvisations and ostentatious and annoying writings that have results contrary to the formative intentions that children's literature strives to have.

No culture can exist locked within the limits of its own national values. Contacts with other types of spirituality stimulate the creative forces of a people, opening to them the horizon of universality.

During the years of socialism, through planned activities we have produced cultural work that we can be proud of. Numerous writers who know well different foreign languages and have the gift to be able to translate - a true and precious talent, have allowed us to have today important works from the world literary treasury translated into a Romanian version.

The number of special successes in the field of translation regarding poetry, prose and drama is extremely great. Recently, fundamental critical and essay works have come to complete this imposing review, contributing to the process of raising the cultural level of the Romanian reader and giving him the opportunity to acquire high cultural values, a phenomenon characteristic of the complex formative process of socialist humanism.

In the spirit of our party's policy, the translations tend to involve the entire map of world culture. The public in socialist Romania has stopped being aware of just some literature that monopolized general concern at one time and dictated tastes and styles. We are interested in the cultures from every continent and we can state with satisfaction that we have brought into our culture the works of numerous worthy authors from Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Today's world is the theater of a powerful confrontation between the new and the old and that also occurs on the level of artistic ideas, motives and forms. Translation cannot ignore ethical, ideological and esthetic criteria that are appropriate to our ideals. Works will be brought into Romanian culture that for a long time and in every corner of the world have illuminated the flame of humanism, but we will reject writings that propagate a lack of faith in man, that hint at dissolvent ideas, that cultivate lowly instincts and that exalt barbarism, cruelty and obscurantism.

The report spoke about the penetration of current literature into the broad public's awareness and about the fact that this literature, especially in recent years, has acquired great credit among the ranks of its readers. This status is due to the most part to the artistic values, since in the absence of these values everything that we have pointed out that constitutes specific aspects would be uninspired work.

Through several imposing contemporary works our literature has attained an esthetically high level and everything that will be done from now on will naturally take these new high points into consideration. Unfortunately, there is still

publication of poor literature, stories of irrelevant facts, commonplace findings in prose or compositions lacking emotion in poetry. Very frequently these expressions of literary incompetency seek their justification in thematic opportunities and in the fact that they respond promptly to certain requirements of the moment. But, what opportunities can be found in art lacking quality, what other effect than the irreparable compromise of certain noble goals?

Due to the criticisms made we must carefully discern between value and imitation, between talent and non-talent, doing this in a clear and rigorously objective spirit.

Destined to be read since only in this way can it exercise its formative actions upon the minds and souls, literature is vitally interested in the esthetic level of the masses. This has increased considerably along with the vast process of raising the workers' awareness and with the general spread of the educational environment, the spread of culture to the villages and the modernization of all production activities through the mastery of the advances of the technical-scientific revolution.

The improvement of the quality of the literature that is published brings along with it an elevation of society's tastes. To an equal degree, as the esthetic exigencies of the masses increase so is literary production obligated to higher artistic achievements.

In order for this dialectic interaction to operate normally, the exercise of literary critique must not be obstructed. Intimidations, pressures, the monopolization of opinions and the division of praise and insults according to group interests tend to impose pseudovalues, negatively influence the public's taste and, in the end, bring down the level of literature overall.

The free exercise of criticism and the confrontation of different evaluations permit readers to form their own opinions that are as close to the truth as possible and ease the triumph of literature.

The important idea here is the responsibility in criticizing writings without any concessions to the interests that oppose the progress of our literary, political and social affairs.

The opportunities for the objectivity of criticism to grow and for imposition and improvisation to find its difficult position are influenced by a serious strengthening of the bases that serve the judgement of values and characterization in literary works. Furthermore, we are living during an era of unprecedented prosperity for literary theory. World and Romanian criticism have reached important clarifications in this field and today benefit from more rigorous and more exact methods and means to examine literary works.

Our criticism must be present to a greater degree in the ideological-aesthetic disputes in the contemporary world, promptly and argumentatively taking positions against those concepts that tend to separate art from humanist ideals and propagate social obscurantism and indifferentism. Through this combative statement on the field of the great confrontations of ideas, our criticism has the opportunity to contribute to the spread of the humanist message in Romanian culture beyond our borders.

During these years, there has also been an imposing development of the historiography and literary theory sectors. It is necessary to recognize the growth in the professional scientific competence in this decade. Beginning with the theories of materialist historical aesthetics and with the recommendations of the party documents regarding the criteria for the critical use of our literary legacy and amply and usefully combining the traditional methodologies with the modern ones, literary historiography has succeeded in creating valuable works that have resolved questions of great national scientific interest in a relatively short period of time.

This effort must be continued with greater perseverance. It is appropriate that attention be directed upon the exegeses regarding today's writers, whose works have crystalized and require an encompassing analysis.

The fate of the Romanian language is naturally in the hands of the writers, more than anyone else, feeling in a certain way responsible for its destiny. The national language is a living thing, the plasma from which our creations take shape. It cannot but hurt us when it is mistreated, sometimes in the mass media (the press, radio, television) or even in certain literary books. We writers have the duty to work, through our writings, for the development and improvement of the Romanian language, just as we have the duty of protecting it. This task was left to us by our great predecessors and moves us to create our books, promote our culture and love our country.

Further, the Report dealt with the problem of the literature of the cohabitating nationalities. Its harmonious, encompassing development is a natural result of our party's policy in the nationality problem. The active presence of all the generations of writers from the ranks of the cohabitating nationalities, the variety of the literary types and styles and the affirmation of specific traditions have become possible only in the climate of democratization of political, social and cultural affairs in our country, which has given an equal chance to all citizens regardless of their language and nationality. Under this same revolutionary humanist ideal, the literature in Hungarian, German, Serbian, Ukrainian, Slovakian and Yiddish has constituted an incontestable historical reality. The evolution in recent years attests to the furthering of the effort to reflect the social-political life in our country, the common homeland, where the unrestricted affirmation of values contributes to the strengthening of fraternal feelings through spiritual closeness and mutual understanding and esteem.

Due to the inalienable right of the unrestricted use of one's maternal language and of the cultivation of one's own traditions, in addition to the known phenomena in the development of poetry, prose and literary history and criticism in Hungarian, German, Serbian and Yiddish, in recent years there has also been a gratifying development of Ukrainian literature, as well as the appearance, for the first time, of works by Slovakian writers in Romania. It should be noted that the period to which we are referring has represented for German literature in Romania an especially productive period in which, in addition to the older writers, an entire group of talented young writers have vigorously worked.

Recently, translations from Romanian into the languages of the coinhabiting nationalities have had a superior quality compared to previous production. Their selection is more judicious. A sustained effort is needed to further this noble action by returning to certain important works that have not been translated or that were part of a less successful version.

Despite the fact that the translation of works in the literature of the coinhabiting nationalities has become more systematic, both in the selection and translation by showing competence and exigency, it is regrettable that many of these valuable books do not get the attention of the critics. It would be desirable, then, for the translations into Romanian of the new written works in Serbian, Ukrainian and Yiddish to enjoy increased attention on the part of editors.

If we try to outline some of the characteristics of the literature written in the languages of the coinhabiting nationalities, we should first of all accentuate the depth of the ethic message of the most successful works, the committed, active humanism, the firm base in the social-political structure, the accentuation of human dignity and mutual respect between peoples and the cultivation of ideas of patriotism as an expression of the quality of the artist's work and his civic duty. It is certain that these realities will lead, naturally, to the affirmation of new talents and to the achievement of new valuable works and the opening, by consistently applying the party's policy, of new horizons in the development of the literature of the coinhabiting nationalities in the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Continuing, the Report presented broadly the expressions and actions organized for the purpose of an ever broader participation of the writers in the country's cultural and social affairs and in the carrying out of the National Festival "The Song of Romania" and the celebration of certain great events and personalities. Similarly, the Report also presented the administrative and organizational activities of the Writers Union during the last 4 years, as well as of the Writers Association, the magazines and the "Cartea romaneasca" [Romanian Book] publishing house. The Report then referred to the Union's foreign affairs and the distribution of Romanian literature abroad.

Reflecting the dynamics of revolutionary changes, the Report said in conclusion, the process of changes that have occurred in the people's awareness gives literature the job of contributing to the creation of a superior man, the creator of high civilization and the conscious and enthusiastic builder of the socialist and communist society in our country.

The writers, through all their work, know how to contribute to the education of all the people in the spirit of humanism and patriotism and limitless love for the country in which we were born and in which we work and live. This represents a lofty duty of patriotic and revolutionary awareness for us and all writers to respond to the country's and communist party's call through an activity at the peak of the era in which we are living and through works that reflect the beauty and inner richness of these people, people involved in the uninterrupted raising of the level of material and spiritual civilization of the people.

Literary creative work has been, is and will always be a profound act of solidarity and an action of man filled with revealing significance. To offer spiritual nourishment to a people, their fellow man and those who will follow after us, is not only a work full of responsibility, but also of incomparable beauty. Under the sign of this responsibility and beauty, we will unite our forces in order to serve the socialist present and communist future of Romania.

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CSO: 2700/352

SATIRIC COMMENT REFERS INDIRECTLY TO RECENT EVENTS

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1596, 2 Aug 81 pp 70-71

[Commentary in form of mock letter to editor by B. C., presumably Brana Crncevic]

[Text] Letters to the editor, for one reason or another, have taken on a significant position in Yugoslav journalism. Hardly a week goes by without some reader showing his brilliance, jotting down some extraordinarily daring idea while professional newspapermen blush with shame. They, too, would have said that if they were readers, but--alas!--they are not. Their responsibility is heavier.

Here is what I would write, if I were a reader, under the initials B. C. (address known to the editors).

Esteemed Comrade Editor,

The question of crime and punishment has always attracted me, yet pondering about sin and forgiveness has often deprived me of time. I realized long ago that, in a happy society, crime is bound to precede punishment, for there is surely no justice where a penalty is first imposed and then a matching person and matching crime looked for.

So far as sin and forgiveness are concerned, my ponderings are still more muddled. Sin ought to precede forgiveness, of course, yet all sorts of things have happened in the marvelous history of the human race: in the main, the human flock has been forgiven for what it has not done--except insofar as this same innocent flock has been punished for one reason or another. Forgiveness has always been more popular than punishment. Traders in forgiveness (confessors) would soak up with inquisitive ears the sin that the believer confessed, whispering or choking, and would then prescribe some modest punishment (an enigmatic prayer with a secret connotation) before passing out forgiveness.

So people became accustomed to the forgiveness of sin. Even when people know that they are not blamable, they gladly stand in line for an indulgence. Far better to be forgiven, surely, than punished for an evil that you did not commit.

Yet when arrogant human beings rejected religion and God in person, when they took everything into their own hands, they were unable to reject--even if they had wanted to--crime and punishment or the still more muddled artifice of sin and forgiveness.

So far as sin and the forgiveness of sin are concerned, the ideological churches have muddled slightly further a matter that was already muddled. Confession, as an act, has remained but has lost its mysterious significance. The sinner does not confess to God's agent whispering and choking, he begs forgiveness not from God but from human beings who are as mortal and sinful as he is. If for the moment we substitute the term "self-criticism" for "confession," and refer to the old-fashioned term "forgiveness of sin" as "criticism," we shall find ourselves on the trail of the old, familiar story.

Public confession (otherwise a very good idea), or self-criticism, determines the degree of the guilty party's sincerity in the eyes of his temporary, human jury. If you admit all your weaknesses in front of some gathering—if in desperation, for example, you say "I am shit"—two things may happen to you. They may agree that you are shit and reject you as shit; on the other hand, they may tell you that you are not shit because you admitted that you were. Moreover, if the sinner is adroit, if he manages to affect his jury with some touching sentence from the depths of his soul, he may shift the consciousness of the gathering in the direction of total sincerity. Several other speakers will rise to admit that they have committed similar, if not identical, acts. Thus your confession (self-criticism) may be transformed into your triumph.

Man is mortal, and sinful, and fragile; various byways await man on every road. Today you sin, tomorrow I will; I forgive you that I may be forgiven.

And that does not bother me: it is hard for a person to run away from his nature.

What bothers me is the unnatural (therefore intentional, contrived, artificial) link that has been drawn between crime and punishment and sin and forgiveness of sin.

Crime may be transformed into sin (if you are adroit, if you confess at the right time and in public, if you are—in a word—self-critical), and since we are all—alas!--sinful, we are inclined to forgive the sin. Once we have transformed crime into sin, why not transform punishment into criticism, into the forgiveness of sin?

For example: those who were obliged to look were not looking! Those who were supposed to prevent things were not preventing anything! Those who were bound to be alert were surprised!

And, already accustomed to public confessions, we say: what can you do, the folks didn't see, they didn't prevent things, they were surprised, that's no crime, that's a sin!

And none of your newspapermen, rebuked from this quarter and that quarter, dares any more (dear Comrade Editor!) to investigate the possibility that some folks might have seen something, that they might not have wanted to prevent anything, and that they were not surprised!

By the logic of things, the enemy is capable of anything except surprising us.

But if we are surprised, that is naturally no transgression, that is only a sin.

That is why, so as not to be guilty, so as to be only sinful, we are surprised.

And now we ask the enemy to be honest, to speak out honorably, decently: "I am your enemy, I surprised you!" Instead, we obtain answers on the order of "I am surprised too!"

I want to say that, as I read the latest news (in your publication and others), I have been considerably surprised. For that reason (eventually if not right away), an offense against the state ought not to be transformed into an ideological sin. And vice versa, dear Comrade Editor; and vice versa.

Respectfully, your reader B. C. (address known to the editors).

CSO: 2800/334

YUGOSLAVIA

DECISIONS ISSUED ON CLOSING NINE CONSULATES

[Editorial Report] The No 43, 7 August 1981 issue of SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ, the Belgrade official gazette, publishes (pages 1124-1125) 21 May 1981 decisions "temporarily" closing the Yugoslav consulates in Luxembourg; in Marseilles, France; Calcutta, India; Izmir, Turkey; Goeteborg, Sweden; Karachi, Pakistan; Alexandria, Egypt; Ravensburg, West Germany; and in Linz, Austria.

CSG: 2800/331

YUGOSLAVIA

BRIEFS

TETOVO SUBNOR OFFICIAL RESIGNATION--The main subject of the 5 August 1981 meeting of the presidium of the Tetovo Opstina Council of SUBNOR [Federation of Associations of Veterans of the National Liberation War] was the report on the political-security situation in the opstina. In Tetovo ideological-political action is increasing in the identifying and prevention of actions arising from Albanian nationalism and irredentism in which the veterans of this area are directly and actively involved. It was stressed that the enemy has become entrenched in certain areas and that there is a tolerant attitude in areas which are designated as the center of actions based on Albanian nationalist and irredentist positions. Also stressed was the need for greater commitment by all citizens and working people and especially SUBNOR members to accelerate the process of differentiation through concrete and personal example. The meeting unanimously accepted the resignation of Cemal Hajrulari, member of the Opstina SUBNOR presidium who, as a member of the presidium of the "Dzeladin Zekiri" cultural-artistic society bears responsibility for the removal from a bus of two pictures of Comrade Tito during the 1980 tour of this society around Albania and for changing the main program of this society's performance [there]. [Excerpt] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Aug 81 p 4]

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